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SPRIGG, JOSHUA

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ENGLAND'S ...

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Sprigg, Joshua, 1618-1684.

Anglia rediviva; England's recovery: being the history of the motions, actions, and successes of the army under the immediate conduct of ... Sir Thomas Fairfax, kt. ... Comp. for the public good by Joshua Sprigg, M. A. ... London, M.DC.XLVII. A new ed. Oxford, University press, 1854.

1 p. l., xvi, iii, 336 p. tab. 23^{cm}.

Clement Walker, in his History of independency, p. 32, states that Col. Nathaniel Fiennes is the real author of this work, but "his assumption is not supported on any evidence. It is probably based on the fact that Anglia rediviva justifies the conduct of Fiennes in surrendering Bristol in 1643."

cf. Dict. nat. biog.

1. Ct. Brit.—Hist.—Civil war, 1642-1649. 1. Fiennes, Nathaniel, 1608?-1669, supposed author. II. Fairfax, Thomas Fairfax, 3d baron.

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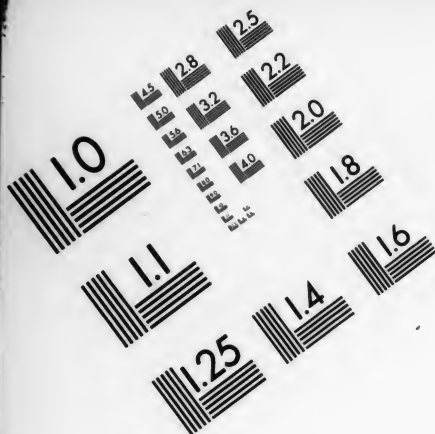
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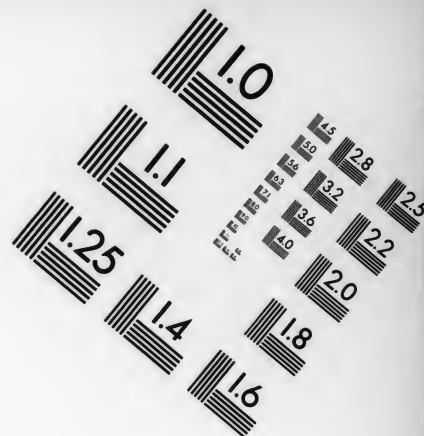
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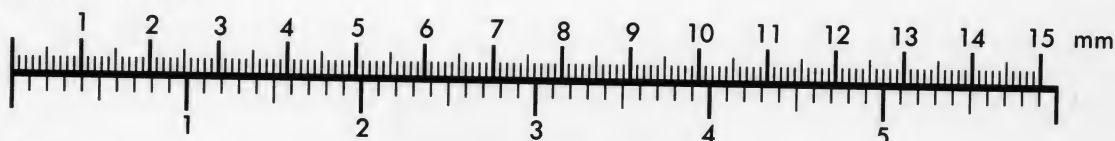
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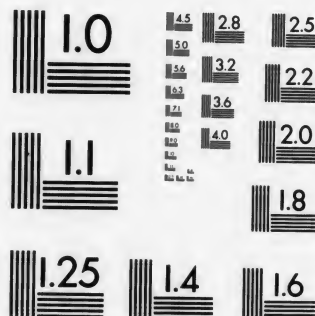
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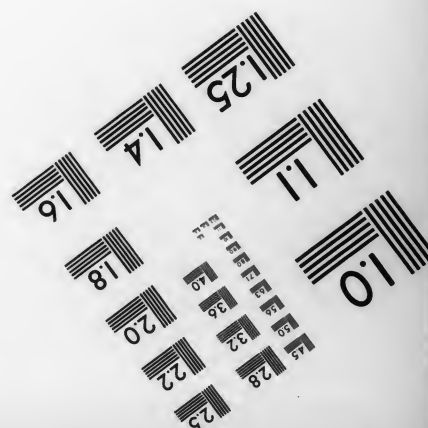
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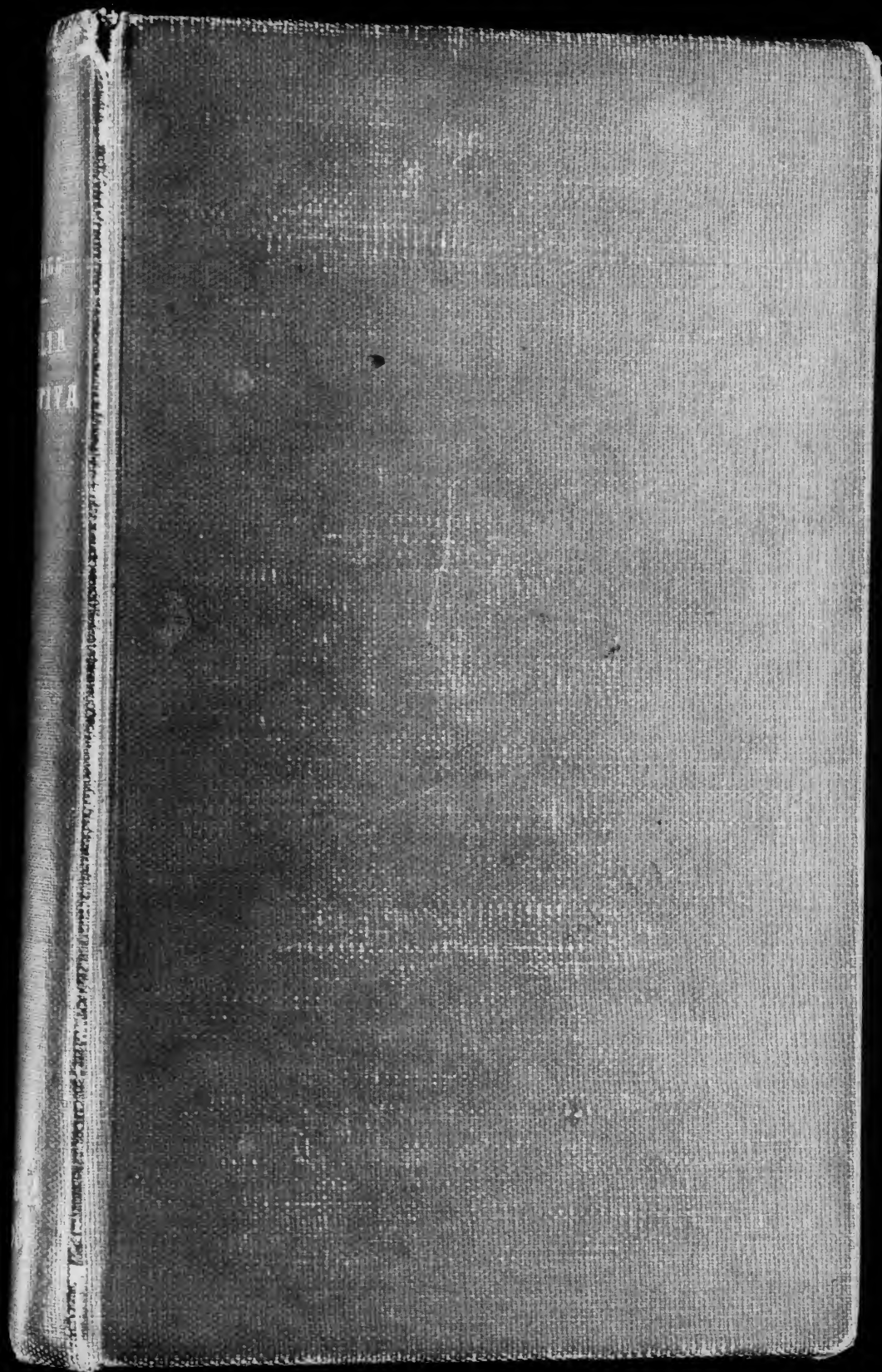


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ANGLIA REDIVIVA;
ENGLAND'S RECOVERY:

BEING

THE HISTORY
OF THE MOTIONS, ACTIONS, AND SUCCESSES
OF THE ARMY

UNDER THE IMMEDIATE CONDUCT OF HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, KT.

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF ALL THE PARLIAMENT'S FORCES IN ENGLAND.

COMPILED FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD

BY JOSHUA SPRIGG, M.A.

— καὶ τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ξύλου εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν ἐθνῶν.

LONDON, M.DC.XLVII.

A NEW EDITION.

OXFORD:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.
M.DCCC.LIV.

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*Extract from Letter LVIII. of Bishop Warburton to
Bishop Hurd.*

If you would know the facts of Fairfax and his independent army till the reduction of Oxford and the King, you will find them in Sprigge's *Anglia rediviva*. But you must not expect to find in this Parliament-Historian the moderation, sense, and composition of May. But it is worth reading. And Walker tells us (History of Independency, p. 32) that it was not Fairfax's chaplain Sprigge, but Colonel Fiennes who composed it.

14 MAY 1894 Bangs 70

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TO THE HONOURABLE

TO THE HONOURABLE
WILLIAM LENTHAL, ESQ.

SPEAKER OF THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR,

IF my own genius had not prompted me, the nature of this discourse would have led me to you ; being of the actions of that army, which (as it received the complete actuation of its form by the concurrence of the right honourable the house of peers, so it) received its first rise from that honourable house where you sit, and have sat as speaker (after an unparalleled instance) for six continued years together ; deriving in the mean time not so much wonder as benefit to the kingdom thereby : having all along, by the same public organ, asserted the English freedom, whereby once (since the beginning of this parliament) you answered his majesty, (who had then after an unusual manner entered your house,) “ that you had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, but what that honourable house gave you.” In all the warm influences and motions whereby this army hath been cherished, you have been one in the constellation, yea, a chief and leading one.

Sir, I mention not these things to lay a stumblingblock of pride before you, but to mind you of that which I know you acknowledge, that One greater than states gave you this faithfulness. Now as for this story, sir, what is wanting in it of elegancy of phrase hath been endeavoured to be supplied in the truth of the relation ; and next to that, a good proportion of my care hath been to carry it without such distasteful reflection as might render it unfit for your candour to patronise : I make no question but you will easily discern a thread of divinity running through the whole proceeding of this army, and that their actions have been nothing else but a copy of the wisdom, power, providence, and love of God put forth in men.

My prayers for you and the honourable senate are, That God, who hath made all your enemies without appear but flesh, and that flesh grass, would save you from the power of flesh within, that you may act all things in the strength and excellency of that spirit that hath wrought these things for ye, that ye may be partakers of as much of God as of victory; whereby ye shall be sure, not only to arrive yourselves laden with honour and all the sweet fruits of your unwearied labours at the port of glory, but shall also direct the tossed bark of this commonwealth towards the haven of rest and righteousness.

Sir, in your public merit many thousands are no less than I am, who am professedly,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOSHUA SPRIGG.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, ETC.

AN APOLOGY.

SIR,

IT may be thought neither justice nor gratitude that this book is not dedicated to your name, for your great merit and interest in the subject of it.

Sir, as your worth and name qualifies you for the patronage of the best subject or discourse whatsoever, and your martial fame and prowess for the best story of that sort; so your interest in and relation to the contents hereof, is, and without controversy must be acknowledged, so great, as renders you altogether incapable of receiving any accession of title thereto by a dedication.

The truth is, this being but the picture of that wisdom and courage, and what more of God did appear in you, I dare not present it to you, being not drawn to the life. But when, moreover, I consider of the kingdom's interest in these things done, and more particularly the parliament's, who set you on work, I am fully satisfied and resolved, that if the right of dedication be yours, yet the debt of patronage, (which is *onus* as well as *honos*, a care as well as a courtesy,) I am sure, is theirs; for though you are the person by whom, yet it is the public, it is the parliament, for whom these things have been done; and therefore the justice seems to be on that side, that they should take these services off your hands, and own and avouch them as having been done in their name and by their authority.

And as your services have been of that consideration and

merit, as to engage kingdoms and parliaments, so the consideration of gratitude is not fit for the adventure of a private man, it is worthy the advice of a parliament. And as both houses have with much nobleness, and in high honour to you in that relation, acknowledged as much by a solemn congratulatory visit, at your coming to London; so they will, I am confident, proceed in all suitable expressions of real thankfulness; and least of all think their gratitude at an end, now that your services are come to so good an end. Though I may say, without dishonour to them, when they have done all, they must die your debtors; and he is not an Englishman that doth not acknowledge, that as the honour of these actions, under God, is yours, so all that they enjoy by these successes is also yours; and that when this generation have exhausted themselves, and done their part, they must commend it to their posterity to pay the remainder to your name.

Sir, I speak not these things to lift you up, for that were to ensnare you, and bring you down in that wherein you have as much exceeded the most of the sons of men as in any thing; I mean, in the carrying of so much honour as God hath put upon you in greatest humility; but to lift up God in you. My only prayer for you is, that as you have seen much of God in the action, so you may live to see proportionably of God in us, in the improvement of them; and that you may taste as much of God in the kingdom's peace as you have done in the kingdom's wars.

Your excellency's most humble

and most affectionately

devoted servant,

JOSHUA SPRIGG.

TO ALL TRUE ENGLISHMEN.

MY dear countrymen (for to you I direct this story, for it is yours; in your land were these battles fought; these actions done for your sakes, (the vindication and defence of your parliament, laws, and liberties,) and by your hands); you, that have with bleeding hearts and distilling eyes been spectators of and common sufferers under the insulting paces of arbitrary power and unlimited prerogative, and have felt the twinging convulsions and violent concussions of the same; and at last (to accomplish your misery and your exactors' sins) have had a cup of blood prepared for you, (by divine ordination indeed, (and so righteously,) but immediately put upon you by the lusts of those whom God, for your sins, had given up to these things,) and have been drinking thereof these three years and more, (I pray God it hath passed from you.) Only, at present, God hath taken it out of your hands, (though we see not, yet he hath made your enemies drink the dregs of it.) I cannot but hope and expect, that as those feet have been beautiful that brought you the retail tidings of your expiring warfare, so that hand that shall transmit the series of them to your view shall not want his due proportion of benevolous acceptance.

You may not expect here an history beginning with our late unhappy wars; but (that which is better) it ends with them, (for, *better is the latter end of a thing*, says Solomon, *than the beginning*.) And therefore this peace (though last acted, yet) being first intended in Providence, may well be first committed to history, as containing that point whereinto, as into its centre, all the former actions did thrust; if any have a story of them to bring forth, this doth not at all prevent but prepare for it. It is pleasant discoursing of the wrecks of war in the harbour of peace; as once Æneas to his men:

*Vos et Scyllæam rabiem, penitusque sonantes
Accestis scopulos: vos et Cyclopa sara*

*Experti. Revocate animos, mæstumque timorem
Mittite. Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.
Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Latium: sedes ubi fata quietas
Ostendunt. Illic fas regna resurgere Trojæ.
Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.*

VIRG. ÆN. I. 200.

Into this harbour hath God now brought our English bark; of this peace, and the immediate action that wrought it out, doth this History give you a prospect, wherein I hope God is drawn through all, and Providence is in the fairest colour and the greatest letter in the book.

The olive branch I bring might discharge me from owing any excuse; yet there are two things (whatever more may be) for which I shall tender a short apology, viz. that this olive branch is no fairer, that it is no fresher.

For the first, I may say of the actions of this army, in a good proportion of truth, what was said in another case; if they had been all largely expressed, such a volume could not have contained them; for as in populous cities, especially if of great wealth and trading, houses are thwackt together without those liberties of gardens and orchards which country villages are accommodated with; even so, in the story of this army, into which so many great and glorious actions and births of Providence have thronged, to make it rich and glorious by the mutual projections of their lights; you cannot expect to have such elbowroom of expression, and accommodation of words, as in more single stories. Or, as lesser lights shining in an orb by themselves seem fair and specious, and of greater magnitude than bigger stars in constellations; even so, how many of these actions, were each of them improved and extended by the art of speech, spread in their just breadth, the folds of their particular circumstances opened, would make so many competent stories by themselves!

For the latter, should this story have been adorned with such artificial stuff of feigned speeches, prosopopeias and epistrophes, &c., it might find better access to some ears; but whether it be not the glory of the story not to need the

trappings of words, I make no question at all. Truth is that which is the commendation of history; and the greatness of an action (which makes it great in wise men's eyes) is native, not adventitious. I should count myself unhappy, to detain the reader in the artifice of the style from the greatness of the matter; lofty language is but to mount pigmy actions, and to please a lower sense. I dare not be too solicitous of arraying the works of God, lest, while I seek to honour them with a gorgeous habit, I hide the true glory and majesty of them; besides that, the humbler the phrase is, the more suitable to the persons by whom these things were done, and the manner of doing; for, *not by might nor by power*, &c. And I write them not for men to pick phrases out of, but to gather matter of praises to God; and if this be the fruit, I have my end.

In relation thereto and furtherance thereof, I shall add but two or three words more; and the first is concerning the action; the second, concerning the instruments; and, lastly, concerning the author, God.

1. For the action; you that have travelled in all stories both ancient and modern, whose minds are so greatedened as that you will look upon no small things, tell me, (I will be bold to put the question, and venture the shame of the worst answer that truth and ingenuity can make,) did you ever read such a story as this? (I relate to the matter of it.) Did you ever read (setting Israel's wars in Canaan aside) of so many actions, so considerable, done in so short a time? Such unanimity in councils, such concord in leaders, such success upon endeavours, such fear upon enemies? It was the admiration of a great man^a and soldier in foreign parts upon the former services; "What! two battles in a summer!" I know not what he may say of these; perhaps nothing: *Admiraciones leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*. But as the height of mercy cannot well be taken but from the depth of the precedent misery, so neither can the transcendency of this army's merit be estimated but by the greatness and compass of their work. You shall find therefore in a table prefixed to the story, the state of the kingdom set in your view, as it stood when this

^a The prince of Orange.

new-model was raised and sent forth. For as it usually falls out, that sicknesses and distempers in men's bodies appearing in the greatest height and threatening is the very crisis and forerunner of recovery, so fared it in this matter; the enemy never had a fairer day for his purpose; and, on the other hand, the parliament's affairs was never since these wars more low and declining, as by referring to the ensuing table may appear.

2. Concerning the instruments the goodness of God hath appeared to us in furnishing us with such instruments out of ourselves, in a parallel way to that success he hath given out by them, in making the English root again to bud with honour, after the disadvantage of a long continued peace for eighty years, wherein rest had been conveyed in our blood from father to son. And now to make the gallantry, valour, and prowess of our forefathers to rise up in their children, in such a cause, and not only to bud, but to bear ripe almonds, is that which (abstracting from the seat of the wars within our own bowels) would have made a delectable story, although it had been without success.

3. But we would least of all be thought, by this history of things done, to fix unconquerableness and unvariable success upon this army; that were to dare Providence to undo us; we know we are as soon broken as made up; as soon flying as conquering; we desire therefore, friends, not to believe this army shall do more, because it hath done so much; and that it cannot be conquered, because it hath conquered; but, that it shall be still victorious while God is in it, and no longer.

Accept these mercies, and with them the instruments, in the undeniable demonstration of their love and loyalty to their country, in so free an expense of their blood, and so cheerful undergoing all hardships of war for your sakes.

J. S.

The state of the kingdom when his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax marched forth, May 1645, exhibited in two tables; the one shewing into what counties, cities, towns, castles, and places of strength the king reached and garrisoned; as also the field-force his majesty had to maintain the same and to enlarge his quarters: the other showing all along what force, garrisons, or places of strength the parliament had to check or balance the enemy.

In two divisions: the one containing the western counties; the other, the mid-land parts.

THE FIRST DIVISION.

The king had,

In Cornwall,

The whole county entire to himself, with these places of strength therein well fortified and manned; viz. the Mount, the strong castle of Pendennis, Dennis-fort, and Helford-fort, which commanded the commodious harbour of Falmouth: the garrisons of Foy, Salt-Ash, Mount-Edgcombe, and Launceston: besides, his majesty kept some forces at Padstow and St. Ives.

In Devonshire,

All Devon entire to himself, (except Plymouth only,) and therein these considerable garrisons well fortified and manned, viz. Excester, Barnstaple, and Dartmouth, the fort at Exmouth, Pouldrum-castle, Fort-Charles at Salcombe, Ilfordcombe, Hopton's fort, and the other forts before Plymouth; St. Budeaux, the garrison at sir Francis Drake's-house, Peymouth-house, Barley-house, and Inch-garrison.

The parliament had,

Neither field-force, port-town, nor inland-garrison; and besides, the people were generally disaffected to the parliament.

Plymouth only, and that besieged.

*The king had,**In Somersetshire,*

All in his power (except Taunton only, which was then straitly besieged by him). And in that county the strong garrisons of Bristol and Bridgewater, Bath, Lamport, Burrough, Nunney-castle, Portshead-point, Ilchester, Chidiak-house, and Farley-castle.

In Dorsetshire,

Portland-castle and island, Corfe-castle, and Sherborne-castle.

In Wiltshire,

The garrisons of the Devizes, Laicock-house, Langford-house, and Highworth.

In Hants,

The strong garrisons of Basing and Winchester.

In Berkshire,

Farringdon, Wallingford, Dennington, and Radcot.

In Oxfordshire,

The city of Oxford, (the king's head garrison,) Banbury, Woodstock, Gaunt-house, Blechingdon-house, and Godstow.

In Buckinghamshire

Borstall-house garrison.

The king's field force for the west.

The king's field forces for the securing of these western counties and garrisons, even from Oxford to the Mount in Cornwall, under the command of the lord Goring, the lord Hopton, sir Richard Grenville, and

The parliament had,

The garrison of Taunton (close besieged at that time.)

The port towns of Poole, Lyme, and Weymouth.

Malmesbury-garrison only.

The garrisons of Portsmouth, Southampton, and Christ-Church, (port towns.)

Abingdon, Reading, and Windsor.

Henley-garrison.

Aylesbury.

The parliament's field-force for the west.

The parliament (not thinking it safe to spare the new raised army under his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, to attend the great business

*The king's field forces for the west.**The parliament's field force in the west.*

major-general sir John Digby, brother to the lord Digby, may modestly be computed to be, in all, fourteen thousand horse and foot, besides their several garrisons secured with horse and foot; as may easily be credited, if it be considered, the great force they had before Taunton, during the two strait sieges thereof, and the many men they lost in both those services; and yet with what a considerable army they were at Lamport, when they were beaten there, and at the same time also maintaining the siege before Plymouth, with a considerable force (besides those 14,000). His highness prince Charles was then in person in the west, raising new forces, whose presence had such influence on those parts, especially on the clubmen, (who were thereby made bold in their meetings, and received commissions under his highness' hand and seal to form themselves into regiments,) that it was no little addition of reputation to that army.

of the west, and leave the parliament, city, and association without a guard, and the royal army about Oxford (unattended) designed only the remaining regiments of the earl of Essex's and sir Wm. Waller's horse, which were not reduced into the new-model, to busy the enemy in the west; viz. of sir William Waller's, colonel Cook's, colonel Fitz-James, colonel Popham, and the Plymouth regiment. Of the earl of Essex's, the relicts of colonel Beer's, and colonel D'Albier's regiments under lieutenant-colonel Buller, assigned over to major-general Massey; which regiments were formed into a brigade, and designed under the command of major-general Massey for the western parts, but a little before the battle of Naseby.

THE SECOND DIVISION.

*The king had,**In the county of Hereford,*

That county entirely to himself, with the garrisons of Hereford, Gotheridge, and Cannon-Froom.

In Worcestershire,

The city of Worcester, Evesham-garrison, and Hartlebury-castle.

The parliament had,

No garrison, place of strength, nor field-force.

Hawksworth castle only.

<i>The king had,</i>	<i>The parliament had,</i>
<i>In Salop,</i>	
The garrisons of Ludlow, Bridge-north, Dawly, Shrawarden-castle, Caes-castle, Morton-Corbet - house, Stockley-castle, Rowton-castle, Linsel-manor, Apley-house, High-Archal, Carew-castle, Embleden-castle.	Shrewsbury, Wem-garrison, and Oswestree.
<i>In Staffordshire,</i>	
The strong garrisons of Lichfield and Dudley, and Burton upon Trent.	The garrison of Stafford.
<i>In Chester,</i>	
The city of Westchester, Beeston-castle, Hawarden-castle.	Namptwich,
<i>In Leicestershire,</i>	
The garrison of Ashby-de la-Zouch.	Leicester town (shortly after lost).
<i>In Lincolnshire,</i>	
Belvoir-castle.	Lincoln-city, Crowland-garrison, Hougham garrison, Burleigh.
<i>In Nottinghamshire,</i>	
On this side Trent, the strong garrison of Newark, Shelford-house, and Wiverton.	The town and castle of Nottingham.
<i>In Warwickshire and Northamptonshire,</i>	
	Entirely the parliament's.
<i>In Wales,</i>	
All North-Wales and South-Wales, with all the strong garrisons of Ragland, Monmouth, Chepstow, Flint-castle, Holt-castle, Denbigh, Aberistwith, Aberconway, Caermarthen, Caernarvon town and castle, Harlact-castle, &c.	Pembroke town and castle in South-Wales; and Montgomery-cas. in North-Wales.

The king's field-force for the midland counties.

The field-forces which the king had for the securing of these midland counties and garrisons &c., was, 1, the royal army, (countenanced by the king's own presence in it,) commanded by prince Rupert and prince Maurice, which was that army which fought his excellency sir Tho. Fairfax's army at Naseby. 2. Besides, the king had a very considerable force of horse and foot in Wales, under the command of the lord Gerard. 3. And also a good strength of horse under colonel Devillier, sir William Vaughan and others. 4. And likewise had strong parties of horse attending the garrisons of Chester, Ludlow, Bridgenorth, Lichfield, Worcester, Dudley, Newark, and Hereford : which upon any design met together, and were a formidable force.

The parliament's field-force for the midland counties.

The parliament had to balance this royal army in the midland parts, the new-model (far short of its intended number of 21,000) under the command of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, (part whereof were, as soon as they marched into the field, sent to Taunton, (the only inland garrison the parliament had in the west of England,) to raise the siege there, and relieve that place, that otherwise had been lost). Which was no sooner done, but Goring, Hopton, and Grenville join all their forces together, made a great army, and besiege the town again, and therein that brigade that had relieved it. The rest of the army was allotted to his excellency, to guard the parliament, city, and association, and to attend the motions of the royal army withal ; and our besieged friends and brigade in Taunton must not be neglected neither. There were some other forces belonging to garrisons, which upon occasion might be assisting to the parliament, viz. those under major-general Laughorne in South-Wales, sir Thomas Middleton in North-Wales ; those under major-general Mitton in Shropshire, sir William Brereton in Cheshire ; the Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire horse ; and the horse of this army, under colonel Rossiter in Lincolnshire, sir John Gel in Derbyshire, and colonel Norton in Hampshire.

Beyond Trent.

The battle at Marston Moor decided those parts for the parliament; yet there remained of garrisons belonging to the king, unreduced, Skipton-castle, Pontefract-castle, Scarborough-castle, Sandal and Bolton castles, in Yorkshire (before all which places some of the forces raised under the lord Fairfax were engaged). Besides Latham-house, Greenhaugh-castle in Lancashire, besieged by the Lancashire forces; and Carlisle in Cumberland, besieged by the Scottish forces: and in case the king had attempted a conjunction with Montrose, the Scottish army (being far north) was in a convenient post to interrupt that or any such like design.

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ANGLIA REDIVIVA,

OR

ENGLAND'S RECOVERY.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Containing, by way of proeme and introduction, a general account of the miserable condition of this kingdom before this present parliament; the occasion and instruments of calling it; the snare laid for us in a former parliament. The quarrel between the royal party and the parliament, stated: and showing how the command of the parliament's forces came to be devolved to sir Thomas Fairfax, their present general.

PRICIPLES of misery and seeds of diseases in the body politic, strengthening themselves through a long tract of time, and at length discovering themselves more and more in outward symptoms, afforded an happy rise and advantage of seeking out the means of cure. Of which God has not left this kingdom destitute, in so sufficient a proportion, as that few states or commonwealths in the world enjoy the like: being of itself of a sound and healthy constitution and temper, able (if not obstructed) to conflict with and expel all burdensome humours, and correct all vicious dispositions to tyranny; there being no government better tempered in the world, if true to themselves, in a timely application of remedies at hand.

SPRIGG.

B

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Accordingly therefore, so soon as the body, by the nobler senses, began to take notice of and be seriously affected with her sicknesses, and to be sensible of the means at hand; recollecting their resolution, they urge the calling of this second parliament.

There was a former parliament called by the king (and never was the kingdom in greater danger; for never more danger than when good means are tampered with to bad ends, when Ahab calls a fast to accuse Naboth, and Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light). And this first act and putting forth of the politic nature, though not perfective of the cure, nor having any thing in it again so eminently remarkable as the national justice and affection expressed to the Scots, declining, upon ever so fair proffers and conditions, to assist the king in his engagements against them (an act that should ever make the English of precious remembrance with that nation). Yea, though this first essay of nature was seemingly overcome by the prevalency of the malignant matter, to the breaking up of that parliament, yet was it not in vain: for notwithstanding that for the present the disease took its turn, and did appear in a higher way of opposition and contest to strengthen itself, and to overcome its antidote; yet this did but put nature upon more vigorous and industrious actings to defend itself, (as was need,) and so was subservient unto the calling of this second parliament.

Wherein both interests conflicting, and the malignant party seeing itself so eminently threatened and endangered, and redacted to that extreme necessity, as to use the utmost means for its preservation; and being no longer able to endure at so near a distance those strong motions and workings of the heart, betakes itself from the vital parts to some remoter members of

the body, gathers and settles there, causing an inflammation of those parts, and hopes to derive the same from part to part through the whole body; at last choosing to sacrifice all, rather than to be corrected at all. Hereupon the heart of this kingdom, (I mean the parliament,) which had performed its own defence so well, endeavours its office for the body; and being necessitated to meet with the distemper in the way it had put itself, opposeth fire to fire, force to force, sword to sword; hoping by this means, as by the opening of a vein, to breathe out the distemper, though with the loss of some blood.

The king, with his unhappy counsellors and courtiers, who had promised themselves to be petty tyrants under him, had driven on far, and well near accomplished the great design of an absolute, arbitrary, and tyrannical government; the popish and prelatical party fall in for their interest, hoping by this means to usher in the long wished for alteration of religion within this and the neighbour kingdoms. The troubles of Scotland and the parliaments of both kingdoms ensuing thereupon, the execution of Strafford, and prosecution of his companions and partisans, unexpectedly cross and interrupt this grand design. Many ways are attempted, many practices are set on foot, every stone is turned, the armies of both nations, English and Scottish, are tampered with, to overthrow the proceedings and power of the parliament^a. And when all these ways proved successful, secret practices and bands are set on foot in

^a The king offered the Scots four counties to be annexed to the crown of Scotland, viz. Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the Bp. of Durham, to come up to London, and serve him against the parliament; and moreover the ransacking of the city of London, which was reckoned to them at a greater value than the 300,000*l*. the parliament granted them.

Scotland, a rebellion is raised in Ireland; and in the end the king attempts to seize the persons of some eminent members of both houses, and, by an example not to be paralleled in the story of any age, comes himself in person, accompanied with a band of ruffians, to take five of the members of commons by force out of that house.

As divers soldiers and other loose people flocked to court, so, many well-affected citizens and others testified their affection, in a voluntary way, to the parliament, the preservation of their persons and privileges. These called the other *cavaliers*, and they termed these *roundheads*; whence arose those two names, whereby in common talk the two parties in this war were by way of nickname distinguished.

The parliament, upon the attempt of violence on their members sitting in parliament, having for the present in an orderly way, by the assistance of the trained bands of the city of London, procured for the security of their members that they might sit and consult safely in parliament, considering the many practices of force that had been attempted against them and their authority, in order to the subversion of their religion, laws, and liberties, desire the king, that the militia might be in such hands as both houses of parliament should name and appoint. Hereupon the king withdraws himself, refuses to settle the militia according to the desire of his parliament, endeavours to seize upon Hull, and the magazine there, but is prevented; sends into the Low Countries for cannon, arms, and ammunition, which after arrived, and was landed not far from Hull; began the body of an army, under the name of *a guard for his person*, at York; protected by force offenders from the justice of parliament; sends forth commissions of array in opposition to the ordinance of

the militia established by the parliament upon the king's refusal to join therein; sets up his standard at Nottingham, and declared open war against his parliament.

Jam tetigit sanguis pollutos Cæsaris enses.

Di melius! belli tulimus quod damna priores:

Cæperit inde nefas——

——Nec dicier arma senatus

Bella superba decet, patriæ sed vindicis iram.

LUCAN. Pharsal. ii. 536.

——Blood hath already dy'd

The king's stain'd sword, and God did well provide

That there the mischief should begin, and we

First suffer wrong.——Let no man call our arms

Offensive wars; but for received harms

Our country's just revenging ire.

The parliament, on the other side, arm in their own defence, and in defence of their privileges and authority, and therein of their religion, laws, and liberties; and particularly, to cause obedience to the summons of parliament, and to bring delinquents to justice, and to maintain their ordinance of the militia, and the fundamental right seated in them in the ordering the same for the preservation of religion, justice, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, either with the king's concurrence, or without the same, in case he either cannot, or, being seduced by evil counsellors, will not join with his parliament therein.

Nec præda hisce armis, nec regnum quaeritur ipsis:

Tantum afferre vires populo servire parato.

fere LUCAN.

No spoil seek these arms, nor self-sovereignty:

But t' help the land 'gainst imminent slavery.

Forces being raised on both sides, those of the parliament were at first put entirely under the command of the earl of Essex; but after, they took several forms, and were divided into several bodies, by commissions

granted unto divers persons as major-generals; each diversity and alteration taking its rise from an inacquiescency and dissatisfaction with the success of the present; which moved to turn every stone, and try if by this or that means the desired end might be obtained. Yet several good services were performed by those forces, and very notable ones under the first and original conduct of the earl of Essex; as, besides Edgehill and divers others, that famous and never to be forgotten relief of Gloucester, skirmishing the enemy a good part of the way both going and coming, and at last, upon their return, giving the enemy battle in a pitched field at Newbury; whereof the story of these times, wherever they shall come, will ring deservedly. (In the mention of this particular, might I be secure from moving envy, or detracting from others, (who might also deserve extremely well in the action,) I should at least glance at the singular and extraordinary service of colonel Harvey with his horse, and the gallant foot of the city of London, who stood so stoutly to it that day.) These being not within the line of my story, and being recorded by other pens, I must thus pass over: as also all the considerable actions of the earl of Manchester and sir William Waller, performed for this kingdom by them and their deserving officers and soldiers; amounting at least to so much, as that thereby many a gap was stopped, the kingdom saved from being totally overrun, the success of the enemy's affairs still brought to a reasonable composition, the balance kept pretty even, and sometimes we were sent before God with songs in our mouths, and occasion was afforded for greater hopes and more blessed expectations. But whatever was the matter, two summers passed over, and we were not saved: our victories so gallantly gotten, and (which was more pity) so graciously bestowed,

were put into a bag with holes; what we won one time we lost another; the treasure was exhausted, the countries wasted—a summer's victory proved but a winter's story; the game, however set up at winter, was to be new played again the next spring, and men's hearts failed them with the observation of these things. The cause hereof the parliament was tender of ravelling into, only men could not be hindered from venting their opinions privately, and their fears, which were various, and variously expressed, whereof I determine nothing: but this I would only say, God's time to deliver England was not yet come. And this was apparent, that the forces being under several great commanders, want of good correspondency among the chieftains oftentimes hindered the public service.

The parliament, in prudence waving a strict inquiry into the cause of these things, applied themselves to seek out the remedy, which was most necessary: and there being not only no other comparable, but scarce any other means at all that presented itself to them, this new-model was propounded, a design that carried danger enough in the front of it, both in respect of disobliging those at home, and giving advantage to the enemy abroad, while we were without an army, or at least whilst our army was all to pieces. But if it were here seasonable to open the grounds thereof, it would appear to have been no less necessary than hazardous. And as desperate cures require desperate remedies, so do they often prove very successful, as this hath done beyond all expectation, God having in most fair and great characters written upon it, that it was his design, and thereby owned both the counsel and the counsellors. And now let all men, especially the parliament of England, trust God hereafter, and venture upon whatsoever is just and necessary, by this experience; it being

as much beyond the belief of man, as any thing can be, that such an enterprise as this should be effected so quietly amongst ourselves, and without any affront from our enemies.

The new-model, thus resolved on, is gone in hand withal; and now where to find a general puts them all to a stand: till by a strange providence, without any premeditation or design, sir Thomas Fairfax was nominated. The motion took, was voted, and carried presently; and, to be brief, the old commissions being laid down, and those that were waved in this new-model being dismissed from the employment, the command of the rest, to be recruited to twenty one thousand, is devolved to sir Thomas Fairfax. Of whom, and whose success, since he served the parliament as general of their forces, is this story instituted: which I cannot better begin than with a brief account or description of him.

CHAPTER II.

Wherein a brief character of the general and lieutenant-general. The framing of the new-model. The beginning of their action at Islip-bridge, Blechington-house, Bampton-bush, &c.; and the effect these things had on his majesty at Oxford.

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, eldest son of the lord Fairfax, of Denton in the county of York, martially disposed from his youth, not finding action suitable to him in his own country, (for through the great goodness and long suffering of God England hath been a quiet habitation these eighty years,) and there being employment in Holland, he went over thither to enable himself in military experience; and upon his return into England he matched into a most noble and martial family, taking to wife one of the daughters of that ever renowned general the lord Vere. And thus the reader may take

notice how not only his extraction, disposition, and education bespoke him for a soldier, but his contract also portended nothing less. Albeit, so far was he from congratulating such a condition of his country, when he saw it like to need the exercise of his faculty, that he most sincerely offered the first attempts of his resolved mind at the altar of peace. When at the king's first endeavours to raise a guard for his own person at York, apprehended then by those parts, and found quickly after to be the beginning of an army, he was intrusted by his country to prefer a petition to his majesty; the scope whereof was to beseech him to hearken to his parliament, and not to take that course of raising forces he was then engaging in: which petition the king refusing, he pressed with that instance and intention, following the king so close therewith in the field, called Heyworth Moor, in the presence of eighty if not one hundred thousand people of the county, (the like appearance was hardly ever seen in Yorkshire,) so close, I say, till at last he tendered the same upon the pommel of his saddle. But finding no propitiatory here, and seeing a war could not be avoided, he early paid the vows of his martial dedication; and so soon as these unhappy troubles brake forth, took a commission under his father, Ferdinando L. Fairfax, (whose timely appearance and gallant performances for his country in the north deserves a story by itself,) and served the parliament in lower commands than what Providence since hath adjudged his capacity and merit unto, making him now general of the parliament's forces: to which trust and honour he was preferred upon no other grounds than the observation of his valour, and all answerable abilities for the same, testified in many notable services done by him in the north, whilst he was yet in a lower sphere. And now how delightfully remarkable is it (as

a most apt cadency of Providence) if God shall make him, who was by the king rejected in his mild endeavours to prevent the troubles of the land by a petition, (than which he sought nothing more,) a most powerful instrument of restoring peace thereunto by the sword!

Sir Thomas Fairfax, having with much modesty accepted this command, immediately applies himself to the discharge of it: it was the 1st of April ere his commission was granted; and the 3rd of April he went from London to Windsor, to see, and personally to assist in the framing of a new army: he went in a private manner, purposely avoiding that pomp which usually accompanies a general into the field.

His excellency continued at Windsor from the 3rd to the last of April in that work: the difficulty whereof (to say nothing of the danger, through the discontents of them that were reduced under new commanders, and of those that went off the employment; which rendered it a business requiring much wisdom and tenderness, as well as resolution) might well account for this time, if it had been a longer space: considering, that besides the fitting the train for the field, and the attendance of the recruits from London, which with the old that continued were to make up the designed number; an entire new form was to be introduced into the whole army, the forces that remained of the old army being not only to be recruited, but to be reduced into new companies and regiments, as if they had been new raised.

In the mention of this particular, the great pains, care, and diligence of that valiant and discreet commander, major-general Skippon, whose prudent carriage added much life and expedition to the business, is not to be omitted: of whose singular and extraordinary service therein the house of commons taking notice, by letters that were sent to them, ordered and sent a let-

ter, returning him the hearty thanks of the house, for this and all his former faithful services.

Whilst the army lay about Windsor, thus forming and fitting for the field, prince Rupert with the king's main force for the midland lay about Worcester and the frontiers of Wales, preparing from thence to take the field; but the king's person, with most part of the train, and some of their foot, intended for the field, being then in Oxford, a convoy of horse, reputed about two thousand, was ordered from Worcester to fetch them off from Oxford; upon advertisement whereof, the committee of both kingdoms wrote to the general, to send some horse to march beyond Oxford, and lie on the further side thereof towards Worcester, to intercept that convoy, and keep the king and his train from passing out. The charge of this service they recommended particularly to lieutenant-general Cromwell; who looking on himself now as discharged of military employment by the new ordinance, which was to take effect within few days, and to have no longer opportunity to serve his country in that way, was, the night before, come to Windsor from his service in the west, to kiss the general's hand, and to take his leave of him; when in the morning, ere he was come forth his chamber, those commands, than which he thought of nothing less in all the world, came to him from the committee of both kingdoms. The general then immediately commanded a party of horse and dragoons, then upon the field, to be mustered and recruited, as of the new-model, to march under his command into Oxfordshire forthwith, not staying at all either for pay or recruits. And here also, being the first mention of this worthy commander, I must crave leave to digress a little, to present the world with some more particular notion of him, whose name they will so often meet with throughout this story,

and whose actions will best represent him, as in other stories, so in the sequel of this.

This gentleman, a member of the house of commons, long famous for godliness and zeal to his country, of great note for his service in the house, accepted of a commission at the very beginning of this war; wherein he served his country faithfully; and it was observed God was with him, and he began to be renowned: insomuch that men found, that the narrow room whereunto his first employments had confined their thoughts, must be enlarged to an expectation of greater things and higher employments, whereunto Divine Providence had designed him for the good of this kingdom. When the time therefore drew near, that he, as the rest had done, should lay down his commission, upon a new ordinance, the house, considering how God had blessed their affairs under his hand, thought fit to dispense with his absence from the house. And therefore, as they were in the first place happy in a general, they resolved, in the next place, to make themselves and their general further happy in a lieutenant-general.

To return therefore from whence I digressed. Lieutenant-general Cromwell having received the forespecified commands from the general, marched immediately, found the enemy, and engaged them near Islip-bridge—the enemy's brigade consisted of the queen's, colonel Wilmot's, the earl of Northampton's, and colonel Palmer's regiments of horse—routed them, slew many, took about five hundred horse, two hundred prisoners, whereof many officers and gentlemen of quality; and, as an ill omen of her majesty's designs against this army, the queen's standard.

The lieutenant-general, not resting satisfied with this victory, pursued the enemy, lodged most of the remains of the rout in Blechingdon house, where colonel Winde-

bank kept garrison for the king; he faced the house with horse and dragoons, summoned the governor with a sharp message, (our soldiers casting out words for the foot to fall on, as if there had been foot in readiness,) the answer was required to be instantly given, or else he must expect the greatest severity that the soldiers could use towards him. The governor having no intelligence of, or else doubting relief from Oxford, rendered the house, with all the arms and ammunition therein. Thus God was with our new-model, or rather a branch of it, and declared himself so to be, betimes: which was by the enemy esteemed of such evil consequence to their affairs, and so great an affront, (in regard it was done by the *new-model*, as they scornfully termed this army,) that they could not tell which way to redeem their honours but by calling the governor to a council of war, whom, for delivering the house, they condemned to be shot to death. Much means was used for the sparing his life; but notwithstanding the great interest secretary Windebank his father had at court, for the great service he had done the church of Rome, they could not prevail for a pardon, (so high they accounted his offence,) only a reprieve for a few days; and shortly after, the governor was shot to death; and his brother, a lieutenant-colonel, laid down his commission thereupon.

No sooner was the lieutenant-general possessed of the house, but he sent away the arms and ammunition to Aylesbury, and quit the house, as not advantageous to our affairs, nor indeed having foot with him to put into the house, only a few dragoons, which he could not spare from his other designs. The enemy, a few days after this, sent from Oxford about three hundred and fifty foot, under the command of sir William Vaughan,

towards Radcot-bridge; the lieutenant-general marching privately towards Witney, and having intelligence thereof, pursued them, forced them into Bampton-bush; where sir William Vaughan, lieutenant-colonel Littleton, divers officers, and about two hundred prisoners, with their arms and ammunition, were taken.

Moreover, the lieutenant-general having in his march notice of some of the enemy's horse, which had a few hours before crossed his way, he sent colonel John Fiennes with a party after them, who fell upon them, and took about one hundred and fifty horse, three colours, forty prisoners, and fifty arms. The lieutenant-general in the mean time marched over the river towards Farringdon, having despatched his prisoners away with a convoy to Abingdon, consulting with the officers of what advantage it would be to reduce that garrison of Farringdon; wherein they did readily concur; but having no foot to effect the same, he sent to Abingdon, to major-general Brown, for the assistance of some foot, who (according to his wonted readiness to promote the public service) very readily sent about five or six hundred, wherewith the place was attempted, but without success; and after the expense of about fourteen men upon it, the design was given over. The losses the king sustained, whilst these forces hovered thus up and down, and affronted them under their walls, so perplexed them at Oxford, that his majesty sent for prince Rupert and prince Maurice, with all the forces they had, to come to Oxford, the better to enable his majesty to march out into the field; and, for more security, general Goring was also sent to for that purpose out of the west.

CHAPTER III.

The general with the army marching into the west; upon after-advice recalled, and a party only sent to Taunton. Their good success in the relief of Taunton. Lieutenant-general Cromwell defending his quarters against Goring.

AND now by this time the army was well nigh raised, whither they should first bend was taken into consideration. Oxford and the west are put into the scales of competition. Oxford, besides that it was the headquarter and garrison, and lodged all the king's ordnance and artillery, that he was to draw forth into the field, (which now to surprise, or at least to prevent the drawing of them forth, was held very counsellable, as that that was likeliest to hinder the king's taking the field,) represents itself also in other respects to be first considered, as being a midland garrison in the heart of the kingdom, where to suffer an enemy is most mischievous: besides that, that county had longest suffered of any place in the kingdom, being the constant seat of the war from the beginning. But the consequence of the west, and the commiseration of Taunton in particular, then greatly distressed by a close siege, whereinto also most of the best affected in those parts had drawn themselves for safety, prevails, and sways to decline the design upon Oxford at that time, though otherwise needful enough: and so the first fruits of this army are devoted to the west.

According to this result, the general, though under an indisposition of body, by reason of an ague that had exercised him for some time, yet undertakes this western expedition with a great deal of cheerfulness, though the whole fruit of that year's service was in great hazard to have been thereby blasted in the bud; the king being then in a condition ready to take the field, having made several despatches for that purpose to embody all his

forces, and we having no balancing force to attend his motion, lieutenant-general Cromwell being far too weak to engage him, and the Scots at too remote a distance. And though it was urged to be most necessary to relieve our friends, yet the slight retrenching, and garrisoning of many towns of no great strength by nature and situation, though it may serve for the present securing of particular counties and particular men's estates from plundering parties, yet are they prejudicial to the public and to the main of the wars: for such places are not able to hold out long; and then either there must be a loss of charge, arms, or of our friends, which would be a discouragement to our whole party, or else an army must be diverted from their principal designs, and besides the danger other places by its absence may be exposed to, expose itself also to the certain toil, inconveniences, and hazardous chances of a long march, which is likely also to end in a fight. And therefore it hath been held great wisdom, by ancient and well experienced soldiers, to have but few garrisons, and those very strong, which may hold out long without relief; which is the more necessary, if they shall be in the corners of a country, and remote from relief.

But to return. The 1st of May his excellency began his march with the whole army, (except the forementioned party of horse and dragoons, which were with lieutenant-general Cromwell, and four regiments of foot besides, who were ordered, when their recruits were come up, to join with him to busy the enemy about Oxford,) and by the 7th of May they reached Blandford in Dorsetshire, marching the whole seven days, and some of them very long marches, without any intermission: so willing were the soldiers to come timely to the relief of distressed Taunton. To Salisbury were they come before the enemy was aware; as was discovered

by letters of sir Ralph Hopton to the governors of Winchester and Basing, wherein he desired them to send him word when they thought Fairfax would be able to take the field.

In this first march of this new-model, the general, to lay an early foundation of good success, in the punishment of former disorders and prevention of future misdemeanours, caused a council of war to be called that morning that they marched from Andover, a mile from the town; where the several regiments were drawn up, and stayed two or three hours; at which council several offenders were tried for their lives: a renegado, and four more authors of the mutiny in Kent, were cast, one of which (whose lot it was) with the renegado were executed upon a tree at Wallop, in the way of the army's march, *in terrorem*. And the next day was proclamation made through the army, that it should be death for any man to plunder.

But little or no action or execution against the enemy happened in this march; save that the same night that they quartered at Newbury, good scouts and parties of horse were sent out towards Hungerford and Marlborough, whereabouts general Goring was, with a great body of horse and dragoons, coming out of the west: our parties met with some of the enemy's horse, and took lieutenant-colonel Hacket, and some other prisoners: upon examination of whom, and by other intelligence, which came in the nick of time, we understood Goring's design was, that night, or the next morning early, to beat up lieutenant-general Cromwell's quarters near Farringdon, and to relieve that place. The lieutenant-general being newly come to the general at Newbury, and present at this intelligence, immediately repaired to his charge, and was drawn into a body betimes. General Goring marched

with what speed he could, on the west of Farringdon, and recovered Radcot-bridge. The lieutenant-general sent a party of horse over the river, to discover his motion; where major Bethel engaging too far, in the dark, was taken prisoner, and about four men more lost, and two colours, several wounded. The enemy kept his advantage of the river, and quartered his horse as far back as Latchlade, whilst the lieutenant-general was making a passage over New-bridge, and having gained the same, general Goring either declining an engagement, or desiring to prevent the raising of the siege at Taunton, marched back with all speed after the army into the west. This is the total routing of Cromwell's forces, as the king, in his letter to the queen of this engagement near New-bridge, relates it to be. A poor cause, and a condition far from envy, that is pensioner to such royal mistakes to support its reputation!

The king, taking the opportunity of the army's marching westward, draws forth his artillery out of Oxford, to embody himself in the field. Lieutenant-general Cromwell and major-general Brown were ordered to attend his motion; and moreover, it was held necessary to recall his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax from the service of the west, and to allot only a portion of his army for Taunton. Two expresses to this purpose were sent from the committee of both kingdoms to his excellency, who was marched as far as Blandford. And now comes the trial of this new army, which God hath designed for some more than ordinary service; who had scarce warmed their heads with glorious designments, nay, ere they could reflect upon the strength and content of their united march, were by this means to be divided three several ways, ere ever the army came to perfection or action. This, like a

black cloud, for the time, intercepted those prospects of glorious achievements and success, which themselves and others saw before to this army, and, like a fierce storm, threatened to dash all.

But the commands given with public and unfeigned ends were not disputed, but obeyed. Accordingly, a brigade is appointed for Taunton of four regiments of foot, viz. colonel Welden's, colonel Fortescue's, colonel Floyd's, and colonel Inglesby's, commanded by colonel Welden as eldest colonel; unto whom six companies of foot, belonging to the garrison of Chichester, joined themselves about Dorchester, and as many colours from Lime after that; in all, four or five thousand foot, besides a body of horse of eighteen hundred or two thousand, consisting of colonel Grave's regiment, colonel Cook's, colonel Popham's, colonel Fitz James', and the Plymouth regiment. All which horse and foot were well combined in mutual love to each other, and common resolution against the enemy. They marched without any stop or stay till they came within a day's march of Taunton, near enough to raise the siege, as it proved, (by the good providence of God,) giving that brigade the repute of the whole army, as appeared after by a letter from colonel John Digby, wherein he much laments his unhappiness, in being informed that Fairfax with his whole army was advanced from Blandford to the relief of Taunton; when it proved but a part, there being double the strength before the town, sufficient, in his opinion, to fight our party, and make good the siege. Neither was this intelligence of his altogether without ground, or appearance at least; for the general with his whole army did advance out of Blandford towards Dorchester, as if the whole had been for Taunton. But after some stay at the rendezvous, the general wheeled about eastward, and parted with that brigade,

who marched on towards Taunton. But whether this were a feigned excuse of Digby, or a real truth, this we are sure, the enemy drew off the siege, upon their advance so near, and that in great disorder, leaving many arms behind them, and cut down many trees to barricade the ways, lest we should fall upon their rear. And so colonel Welden had a fair passage to the town, which he entered May 14, to no less joy to the besieged than discomfort to the enemy.

The main passages of and particulars relating to this expedition and action are briefly these. When the brigade came within ten miles of Taunton, having the advantage of the hills, they gave them a peal of their artillery, ten pieces being discharged, to give them notice of their being advanced within that number of miles, having before by their spies prepared them with the meaning of that signal. Notwithstanding, they were frustrated in their end; by reason that some few days before, the enemy divided themselves, one party of their horse and foot with some pieces of cannon skirmishing with the other in sight of the town, but only with powder, to make the town believe (as they gave out) that the parliament's forces, who were coming to relieve them, were there encountered and beaten; hoping by this stratagem to have drawn a party out of the town to their friends' succour, and so to have cut them off by an ambuscado. But God turned this wisdom of the enemy into foolishness; the besieged kept close to their works; the enemies returning from their mock chase fell to firing the town with their granados and mortar pieces, whereby two long streets of the town, of fair buildings, were burnt to the ground, and withal they stormed most furiously. But they met with a gallant commander-in-chief, colonel Blake, and as valiant soldiers, that gave them such showers of lead

as filled the trenches with their dead carcasses; and, that which adds to the mercy, the town, in all, from the beginning to the raising of the siege, had not lost two hundred men. Towards evening, a party of horse were sent, who approached to the very works, (for the enemy had drawn off their guns, and their rear was upon their march,) and the town thereupon being confirmed of the approach of their friends to their relief, sallied out and fell upon the rear of the enemy, killed some, and took others prisoners. The whole body marched to Pitminster, within two miles of the town, took up their quarters in the fields; and on Monday morning, colonel Welden with the officers went to Taunton (where they found a sad spectacle of a flourishing town almost ruined by fire, and the people nigh famished for want of food). And gave order for the whole brigade to retreat back to Chard, where they quartered on Saturday; and the 14th was the first day's rest they had from their first motion westward. Thus Taunton happily and seasonably relieved is a good earnest of the prosperous success of this army in after actions.

CHAPTER IV.

The army employed to besiege Oxford; how far they proceeded therein. Several garrisons thereabouts besieged, and some taken. The loss of Leicester, and the discontents and discouragements that ensued thereon. With a modest inquiry into the cause of our low condition at that time.

THE general in the meanwhile was a good part of his way back, marching through enclosures, avoiding the champaign way, in regard he had not many horse, if he should meet with Goring's horse, who were upon their retreat from Oxford into the west. By the 14th of May they attained Newbury. In their march, besides

exemplary justice done upon a rude soldier, (as upon two before, in their march towards the west,) and other things of particular note, there was one passage of great wisdom and condescension in the general, very remarkable: viz. that when the duty became so hard to some of the regiments, as each other day to bring up the rear; the general's own regiment claiming a privilege to march always in the van, which was convenient now to be waved for the relief of the rest; but they being unwilling thereunto, the general, instead of severe discipline, alighted himself, and marched on foot in the head of his regiment, about two miles, and so brought up the rear; and to this day his own regiment takes the turn upon all duties; a thing, if rightly considered, nothing to their dishonour, (if it were to outvie others to do service,) and redounding much to the good and good success of an army; there being not any one thing that more frequently and certainly breeds distempers and causes mutinies in an army, than claiming of privileges, and insisting thereon in time of service.

The army thus arrived at Newbury rested there a day or two, which was a great refreshment to the foot, sore galled with a hard and tedious march to and fro (having had but one day's rest in fourteen days' march). What was the design of calling them back, or which way they should now be employed, they were yet ignorant, till the second day, when the general received an express from the committee of both kingdoms, to advance to Oxford, to lay close siege to it; which was no more disputed than the former commands at Blandford; but forthwith obeyed, how much soever it was against his own opinion. Lieutenant-general Cromwell and major-general Brown, who followed the king, and attended his motions with a party of horse and foot,

were recalled, to join with the forces his excellency had brought back with him from the west; wherein it was conceived that they might do better service, for that they alone were too weak by far to engage with the king's forces, (as by their letter they signified to the committee of both kingdoms, and as was obvious to every man,) the king's army being grown to that strength, as that they thought themselves enough (as indeed they were, especially for horse, wherein we fell short of them) to fight his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax's whole army. Only a party of two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons (being part of the force with lieutenant-general Cromwell, and belonging to this army) were sent, under the command of colonel Vermuden, to join with the Scots, (lieutenant-general Cromwell being, for I know not what reason, not so acceptable to their army,) to enable them the better to attend the king's motions, and check his enterprises, to which they were designed. His excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, according to his orders, marches towards Oxford, and, in order to a siege, sends for so much of the train and ammunition as was left at Windsor at their first marching forth, and called a council of war, to consider what other provision was necessary; which they sent to the parliament to speed down. Lieutenant-general Cromwell was come back to them, their quarters settled, a bridge made over the river: they lay fifteen days before the town, but the requisites to a close siege were not come up to them, nor near them, till June 3, the day before they received orders to rise from before the town; which orders were well received by the army, who did not conceive themselves secure, nor sufficient for such an undertaking, while that the king was unattended in the field, as was at large represented by the general to the committee of both kingdoms. And in that respect (because they

looked upon this design against Oxford as unlikely to prove successful) they thought not good to summon the town during their lying before it; by which means they were secured that they might rise from before it with the indemnity of their reputation.

Nor did any great action, in relation to that place, happen all the while they lay there; save that at their first drawing near it from Nuneham, a party of horse were sent forth towards Oxford, under the command of adjutant-general Fleming, who met a party of the enemy's horse and foot, routed their horse, being commanded by captain Gardiner, and took prisoners about two hundred foot: which served as a good means and provision for the release of a footguard, consisting of one hundred men; who afterwards, near their rising from before Oxford, (much through their own negligence timely to retreat to a place of security, as they might,) were by a sally of the enemy early in the morning surprised, twelve of them slain, the rest taken, but the next day released upon exchange of the like number of those whom we had taken (as before) and sent to Abingdon. Moreover, upon the general's viewing the works on the north-east side of Oxford, the enemy set a mill on fire, and also quit the garrison of Godstow near Wolvercot, and set it on fire: but some of colonel Sheffield's horse came in seasonably, quenched the fire, and preserved the powder and ammunition in the house, and took the governor and some others, in their flight towards Oxford, prisoners.

May 24. The general rode to view Bostol garrison, and some few days after sent a party to besiege it. Adjutant-general Fleming was there engaged in a single encounter, shot his enemy, yet received a wound himself, conceived then to be mortal, but of which he afterwards recovered.

May 31. The general viewed the garrison of Gaunt-house, sent colonel Rainsborow, with a party of foot, and some horse, to besiege it, who battered it sore all that day; but by reason of the moat, the access was ill to it. The governor was summoned to deliver it; but he returned a positive denial, adding further, that he liked not Windebank's law, till the next day, June 1, when colonel Rainsborow being prepared, and ready to fall on to storm, having provided carts and all things necessary, the governor, perceiving the same, sounded a parley, waving the consideration he insisted on the day before; and surrendered the house, with all the arms and ammunition therein, upon quarter for himself and his soldiers^b.

About this time came news of a remarkable passage in general Goring's army in the west; which, as will afterwards appear, hath been their lot to happen among them more than once; namely, a hot skirmish, which one party of his horse had with another party of his own horse, near Crookhorn, thinking they had been ours (for indeed a party of horse of colonel Welden's brigade were then within a mile of them, at Hinton St. George); in which skirmish many of the enemy were slain, both officers and soldiers, by one another; and that party of their horse that was routed fled as far as Bath, giving a hot alarm as they went, which for the present put them in some distraction. Providence had ordained this accident, as an advantage for that party of our horse, who otherwise might have been endangered (by the sudden advance of the enemies' forces) in their retreat from Pederton to Taunton. The inhabitants thereabouts confirmed the truth of this accident, when the army marched the second time to relieve Taunton,

^b Here we received the news of the taking of Evesham by colonel Massey: a seasonable and good service.

and had a rendezvous on the same place where this skirmish was; besides, many of the enemy have since confessed the same.

And upon the heels of this good news, viz. May 29, came two parcels of less pleasing intelligence. The one, of the king's advance from the relieving of Chester, towards Leicester and the association; and of the Scots army being gone towards Westmoreland, who we had thought had attended the motions of the king. The other, out of the west, viz. that general Goring, sir Ralph Hopton, and sir Richard Grenville had joined all their forces together, and distressed colonel Welden's brigade, in a manner besieging them close in Taunton. And on the 1st of June, a third and more sad piece than either, viz. of the king's taking of Leicester by storm, and of the cruel usage of many of the inhabitants: the particulars whereof are too tedious here to mention; only thus in brief.

On Tuesday, at noon, a summons was sent by prince Rupert to the soldiers, townsmen, and countrymen, wherein quarter was offered to the whole town. Whereupon the committee called together all the commanders, and read the summons unto them; and upon debate, it was resolved to take the next morning to give an answer. But the trumpeter was no sooner arrived at the king's army with this desire, but a drum was presently despatched to demand a resolution of the summons within a quarter of an hour; which while they were debating at a common-hall, before any could express themselves, the king's cannon from the battery played, and all were commanded to repair to their charge, which was done with much courage and resolution. And now both sides plied each other with cannon and musket shot, as fast as they could charge and discharge, and so continued all day and all night; at

which time the enemy prepared to storm at six or seven places. At the Newark breach was the fiercest assault, the enemy there coming to push of pike: amongst the rest, colonel St. George in a bravery came up to the cannon, and was by it shattered into small pieces, and with him many more; for, after the manner of the Turks, the horse forced on the foot to fight, who, being played upon by the musketeers, were many of them slaughtered. About three of the clock on Saturday was the town entered; the enemy put many to the sword at their first entrance, and dealt also extreme cruelly with the town, plundering all they had, and putting many to great ransoms, when they had taken away all their moneys and goods. There was buried of the enemy in Leicester seven hundred and nine, as hath been collected by the burials there, besides those that have died of hurts since: there was above one hundred of the town soldiers slain.

Upon the loss of Leicester many discourses were raised, each one venting his discontent according as passion biassed his affections. Great was the discouragement of the parliament's friends, and as great was the confidence of the enemy; insomuch, that soon after, viz. June 8, the king himself, in his letter to the queen, used this expression: "I may, without being too much sanguine, affirm, that since this rebellion my affairs were never in so hopeful a way." But what is the matter? Was there no balm in Gilead? Was there no physician there? Had England no army then? Nay, had they not two armies to the enemies' one? had they not an army of our brethren the Scots, that had wintered then in the kingdom, consisting of twenty one thousand? Had they not a new-model newly raised? How fell we then into this low condition? I shall endeavour to give

a brief account of that business in its relation to this army.

As it often falls out that the sun at its first rising is clouded with some small mist, which after it hath once broken through, ensueth a most fair and glorious day. So this new army, at its first going out, seemed to be a little darkened by the sitting down and after rising from before Oxford; the king's increasing his forces and strength in the field, and the loss of Leicester. And these vapours gathered into such a cloud, as that they did not a little obscure the first motions of that army, at least the counsels and counsellors whereby it was conducted; and not so only, but portended to its enemies a joyful, to its friends and favourers a sad prognostic of a sore storm ready to pour down upon them, which they could not have avoided, but that, through the merciful disposition of the all-seeing God, (privy to the integrity of good men's hearts and actions,) the victorious beams of this rising sun brake forth so gloriously at Naseby-field; and it hath run its course ever since with such a constant lustre and brightness, (not so much as one cloud passing over it,) that it hath dazzled the eyes of all the beholders, and turned the scorn of its enemies into bitter envy, and their choler into deep and inveterate hatred. But how and from whence this mist arose in the morning of this new army I now come to show.

His excellency, with the greater part of his army, being recalled and returned out of the west, the question then was, whether he should pursue the first design of besieging Oxford, or whether he should follow the king, who seemed to bend northwards. On the one side it was considered that the parliament had in their pay a great army in the north, of twenty-one thousand

horse and foot, of our brethren of Scotland; that there were considerable forces in Lancashire and Cheshire under sir W. Brereton, which held Chester straitly besieged; that in Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, there were also very considerable forces, which might join with the Scottish army, if there were need; and were commanded so to do, in case the king marched northwards: besides the party of two thousand five hundred horse and dragoons under colonel Vermuden, which were appointed to join with the Scottish army, because they seemed only to want a due proportion of horse to engage with the king's army: and upon the appointment of them to that service, the commissioners of Scotland wrote to his excellency the earl of Leven to advance; and the committee of both kingdoms ordered colonel Vermuden with his party to march into Derbyshire, to join with them, which accordingly he did, and came to the rendezvous at the time appointed. This provision was held sufficient, and more than sufficient, in case the king should move northward; not only to check him in any enterprise upon the towns of the parliament, or relief of Chester, Pomfract, or Scarborough, which were then besieged, but also to fight with him to the best advantage, if need so required. On the other side, in case the king should have moved southward or westward, his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax lying before Oxford, was in the most convenient post to fight with him, and to hinder his designs; whereby it may appear to him that considers it, that our forces were so disposed by Providence at this time, that the king had a sufficient army both before and behind him to fight with him; and as great, if not greater than those that after beat and wholly overthrew his army at Naseby, so that a design could hardly have been laid to greater

advantage: yet it took not effect, for that the army designed to attend the king's motions did not advance according to order, but instead of marching southward returned back into Westmoreland. Sir William Brereton, fearing the approach of the king's army, and seeing no army ready at hand to balance it, raised the siege of Westchester; whereupon the king, seeing the work done to his hand, marched to Leicester, and took it also, there being no army to check or control him.

CHAPTER V.

The army commanded to rise from before Oxford. Their several marches till the battle at Naseby, with all the particulars thereof, fully related.

UPON the sad news of the loss of Leicester, and the danger thereupon of the king's breaking into the associated counties, lieutenant-general Cromwell was ordered by the committee of both kingdoms to march only with three troops of horse to secure the Isle of Ely; which commands, he, in greater tenderness of the public service than his own honour, in such a time of extremity as that was, disputed not, but fulfilled. And his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax was commanded to rise from before Oxford, and to march to defend the association. Accordingly orders were immediately given for the forces on the other side the river to march to Islip, and major-general Brown was desired to put a garrison into Gaunt-house, being a place that was conceived would much conduce to the straitening of Oxford; which accordingly was done, and the bridge lately made pulled up: and the next day, being June 5, the army rose from before Oxford, and marched that day to Marsh-Gibeon, ten miles. The general in his march turned out of the way, to see the siege before Bostol-house, where major-general Skippon, according to order,

had that morning made some attempt, but the success was not according to our desires (the moat being much deeper than we expected). This night, at the head quarter, intelligence came that the king was marching from Leicester towards Daventry, with intention to raise the siege at Oxford as was conceived; which was by order before done to his hand.

Friday, June 6, the army marched to great Brickhill, twelve miles, where the head quarter was that night, which was once intended to be at Stony-Stratford, but that the intelligence which came that night to us of the king's horse facing Northampton that day, rendered it not safe so to adventure; whilst the greatest body of our horse, sent into Derbyshire, were not as yet returned.

This night a great fire happened at the general's quarters at Brickhill, which was so sudden and violent for the time, that a man and a boy and three or four horses were burnt in the barn where the fire began, before the guard could get to preserve them. It happened most remarkably, in the house of one who expressed no good affection to this army, and denied to furnish those conveniences for quarter, (affirming that he had them not,) which afterwards by occasion of the fire he was enforced to bring out. The next day, June 7, the army marched to Sherrington, a mile east of Newport-Pagnel, to the end the forces with colonel Vermuden (who upon the Scots retreat to Westmoreland were recalled, and upon their march back) might more conveniently join, but especially to be on that side the river, the better to secure the association, in case the king, who the day before had faced Northampton, and seemed to intend that way, should attempt to break into it; wherein it appeared they did not consult their safety and quarter on the back of a garrison, as without

incurring any great censure they might have done, but rather consulted their honour and the public service. Expresses were sent to lieutenant-general Cromwell into the association, to inform him whereabouts our army was, that in case the association were in danger he might know how to join with us. Lord's day, June 8, the army resting in their quarters, several parties of horse were sent out as far as Tocester, to gain intelligence of the motions of the king's army, who brought in some prisoners of sir Marmaduke Langdale's brigade, from whom information was gathered that the king's army continued still about Daventry: whereupon the general called a council of war, to consider of the best way to engage the enemy. Where taking into consideration of what use lieutenant-general Cromwell would be to them in a time of so great action, the general propounded to the council of war, and it was by them unanimously consented unto, that a letter should be writ to the parliament, to desire that they would please for a time to dispense with lieutenant-general Cromwell's absence from the house; and to give way he might command their horse, there being like to be very speedily an engagement. Which letter was sent by colonel Hammond, who went post the same day to the parliament, and was instantly returned with an answer according as was desired, to the great content of the general and the whole army.

This day colonel Vermuden, who the day before was with his party of horse returned and come near to the quarters of the army, himself came to the general, desiring (in regard of some special occasions which he said he had to draw him beyond seas) that he might have leave to lay down his commission, which was yielded unto, and accordingly he received his discharge. At this day's debate, major-general Skippon was desired

to draw the form of a battle: and at the same time the army was divided into several brigades of horse and foot, in order to their being better disposed for an engagement. The general, though not depending upon multitudes, yet serving Providence in the use of all good means, sent one post after another to sir John Gell, colonel Rossiter, to the governors of Coventry, Warwick, Northampton, and Nottingham, to march with all speed with their forces to the army, for that there was likely to be speedily an engagement with the enemy. In the mean, the army neglected no time, but on Wednesday, June 11, though a rainy day, marched from Stony-Stratford to Wotton, within three miles of Northampton, where intelligence still confirmed the king's continuance at Daventry, quartering all his foot and carriages upon Burrough-hill, a place of great advantage, (having formerly been an ancient fortification,) and making show as if he had chosen that place to fight upon in case we durst advance to him. But afterwards it appeared, that his stay there was only till a party of twelve hundred horse were returned, which he had sent from his army to Oxford, as a convoy with the plundered cattle and sheep of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, &c., the better to enable Oxford to endure a siege, in case it should be attempted again in his absence, himself being intent upon a march for the relief of Pontefract and Scarborough; which he then apprehended to have small difficulty in it, understanding the removal of the Scottish army.

The army being come to Wotton, they found there none of the best accommodation for quarter; only, what was wanting that way was kindly and respectfully endeavoured to be supplied by the major and magistrates of Northampton, who the same night came to the general at the head quarter, upon the errand of a con-

gratulatory visit and present. The next day, the army marched to Gilsborough, (four miles on the west of Northampton, and within five miles of Burrough-hill, where the enemy still continued,) marching in very good order; for that they did advance directly upon the place where the enemy had pitched himself. A commanded party of horse gave the enemy an alarm, and took some prisoners, by whom they understood the king was a hunting, the soldiers in no order, and their horses all at grass, having not the least knowledge of our advance, and being in the greatest security that could be; but the alarm was so quickly taken through all their quarters, that our foot being somewhat behind, and night approaching, it was not thought wisdom to make any further attempt. About twelve that night, the general took horse, and rode about both the horse and footguards, till four in the morning (expecting the enemy would have shown some gallantry that night, and fallen upon some of his quarters, as he had hindered them in their sport at hunting the day before). In the very entrance whereof this hard condition befell the general himself; that having forgot the word, he was stopped at the first guard; and requiring the soldier that stood sentinel to give it him, he refused to do it, telling him, he was to demand the word from all that passed him, but to give it to none, and so made the general stand in the wet, till he sent for the captain of the guard to receive his commission to give the general the word, (in such subjection are the highest to those laws that erst derived their sanction and authority in great part from themselves,) and in the end the soldier was rewarded for his duty and carefulness (as it was interpreted). As the general was riding in the morning about three of the clock, within a mile and half of Flowre, where the enemy kept an horse guard,

he could discern the enemy riding fast over Burrough-hill, to make fires in abundance, as if they were firing their huts; which gave some cause to believe they were about to march, as indeed it proved afterwards. For,

About five in the morning, June 13, the general being returned to the head-quarter, the scoutmaster general, Watson, (whose continued diligence in getting timely intelligence of the enemy's motion then and always redounded not a little to the enablement of the army,) brought him certain notice that the enemy was drawing off from Burrough-hill; had stood in arms all night, and were all amazed that our army was so near, it being spread abroad in their army we were gone for security into the association; and four or five more of the spies came one after another, confirming the same intelligence, adding further, that most of their carriages were drawn from Burrough-hill towards Harborough. And indeed the convoy, of horse being returned from Oxford the night before, and this unexpected march of the army close up to them, being in a manner a surprise of them, caused them speedily to resolve upon their forementioned march towards Pontefract; either judging the army would not follow them, or if they did, they should be able to fight us at more advantage after they had drawn us further northward.

About six of the clock in the morning a council of war was called, to consider what attempt to make upon the enemy. In the midst of the debate came in lieutenant-general Cromwell, out of the association, with six hundred horse and dragoons, who was with the greatest joy received by the general and the whole army. Instantly orders were given for drums to beat, trumpets to sound to horse, and all our army to draw to a rendezvous; from whence a good party of horse

were sent towards Daventry, under the command of major Harrison, (of whose continued fidelity the public hath had sufficient testimony,) to bring further intelligence of the enemy's motion : and another strong party of horse was sent under the command of colonel Ireton, to fall upon the flank of the enemy, if he saw cause ; and the main body of our army marched to flank the enemy in the way to Harborough, and came that night to Gilling ; the country much rejoicing at our coming, having been miserably plundered by the enemy ; and some having had their children taken from them, and sold before their faces to the Irish of that army, whom the parents were enforced to redeem with the price of money. That evening we understood that the van of the enemy's army was at Harborough, the rear within two miles of Naseby : and no sooner was the general got to his quarters, but tidings was brought him of the good service done by colonel Ireton, in falling into the enemy's quarters, which they had newly taken up in Naseby town ; where he took many prisoners, some of the prince's lifeguard and Langdale's brigade, and gave a sound alarm throughout the enemy's army : (the confidence of the enemy in possessing these quarters, grounded upon their slight esteem of this army, and want of intelligence, was very remarkable.) Upon this alarm, the king, (not having notice of it till eleven at night, as he had little imagined the nearness of our army, or that they durst bear up to him,) much amazed, left his own quarters at that unseasonable time, and for security went to Harborough, where prince Rupert quartered ; and so soon as he came thither sent to call up his nephew, (resting himself in a chair, in a low room, in the mean time,) who presently arose : a council of war was called : the question was put, what was best to be done, seeing our army was so near, and, as they

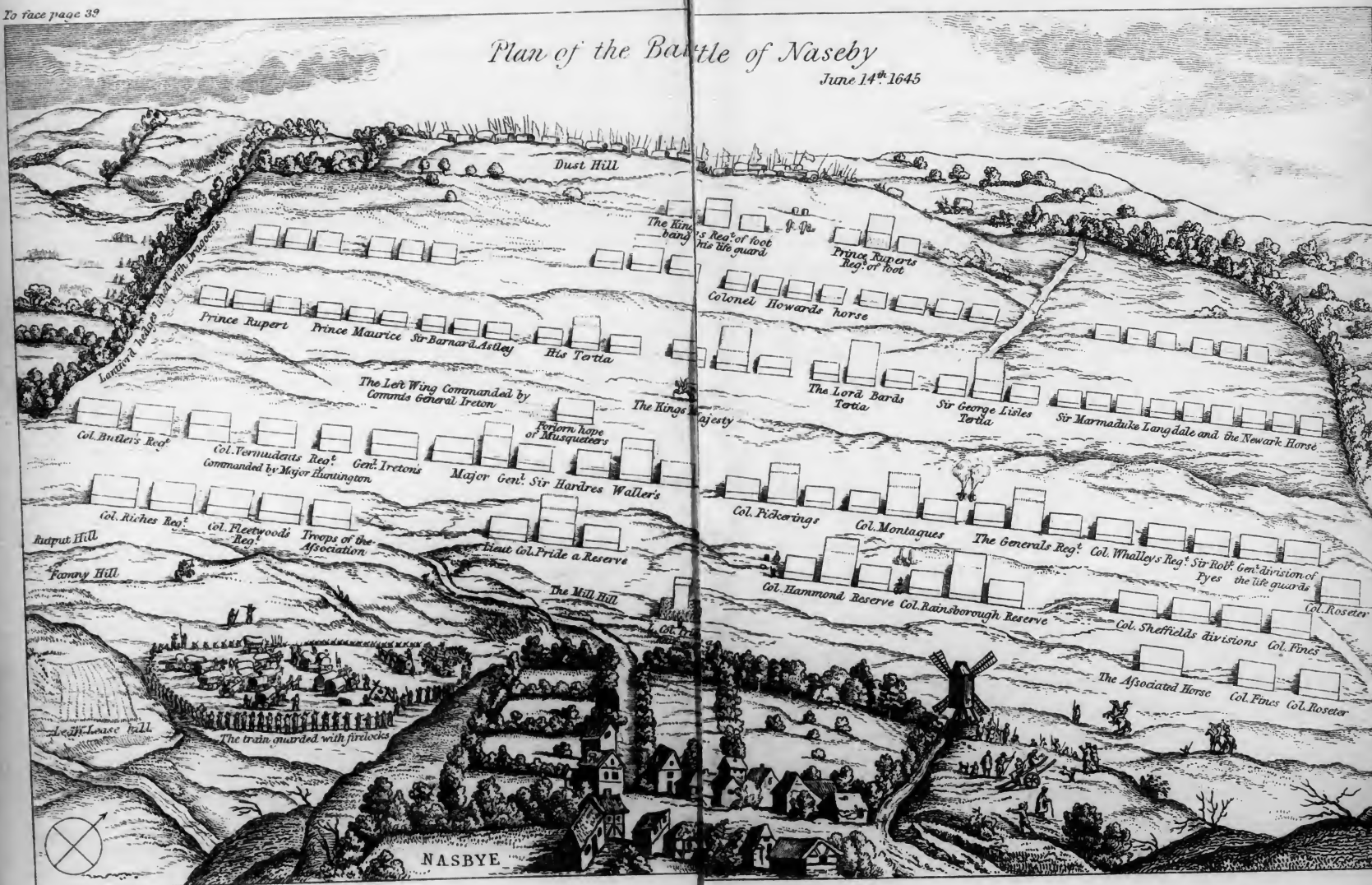
then perceived, fully intended to engage them. It was considered by them, that should they march on to Leicester, if the rear were engaged, the whole army might be put in hazard ; and there was no marching with the van unless they could bring the rear clear off, which they discerned to be very difficult. Whereupon it was resolved to give battle, taking themselves (as indeed they were) for a more considerable force than we, especially in horse, on which they chiefly depended ; being also as confident they might rely upon their infantry for valiant resolute men ; and they resolved (as appeared) not to abide in that place till we marched up to them, but in a gallant bravery to seek us out. Herein the king's counsel prevailed against the mind of the most of his great officers, who were of opinion that it was best to avoid fighting.

Saturday June 14. The general with the army advanced by three of the clock in the morning from Gilling towards Naseby, with an intention to follow close upon the enemy, and (if possible) retard their march with our horse till our foot could draw up to them, in case they should have marched on to Leicester (the intelligence being, that they had drawn some of their carriages in the night through Harborough) that way. By five in the morning, the army was at a rendezvous near Naseby, where his excellency received intelligence by our spies that the enemy was at Harborough ; with this further, that it was still doubtful whether he meant to march away or to stand us. But immediately the doubt was resolved : great bodies of the enemy's horse were discerned on the top of the hill on this side Harborough, which, increasing more and more in our view, begat a confidence in the general and the residue of the officers that he meant not to draw away, as some imagined, but that he was

putting his army in order, either there to receive us, or to come to us, to engage us upon the ground we stood: whilst the general was thus observing the countenance of the enemy, directions were given to put the army into such a posture, as that if the enemy came on, we might take the advantage of our ground, and be in readiness to receive him; or if not, that we might advance towards him. And whilst these things were in consultation and action, the enemy's army, which before was the greatest part of it out of our view, by reason of the hill that interposed, we saw plainly advancing in order towards us: and the wind blowing somewhat westwardly, by the enemy's advance so much on their right hand, it was evident that he designed to get the wind of us: which occasioned the general to draw down into a large fallow field on the northwest side of Naseby, flanked on the left hand with a hedge, which was a convenient place for us to fight the enemy in. And indeed seeing his resolution to advance upon us, we took the best advantage we could of the ground, possessing the ledge of a hill, running from east to west; upon which our army being drawn up, fronted towards the enemy. But considering it might be of advantage to us to draw up our army out of sight of the enemy, who marched upon a plain ground towards us, we retreated about an hundred paces from the ledge of the hill, that so the enemy might not perceive in what form our battle was drawn, nor see any confusion therein, and yet we to see the form of their battle; to which we could conform ourselves for advantages, and recover the advantage of the hill when we pleased; which accordingly we did. The enemy perceiving this retreat, thought (as since they have confessed) we were drawing off to avoid fighting, (and just then it was brought to the king, that our army

Plan of the Battle of Naseby

June 14th 1645



was flying to Northampton,) which did occasion them the more to precipitate; for they made so much haste, that they left many of their ordnance behind them.

The general, together with the major-general, put the several brigades of foot into order; having committed the ordering of the horse to lieutenant-general Cromwell, who did obtain from the general, that seeing the horse were near six thousand, and were to be fought in two wings, his excellency would please to make colonel Ireton commissary general of horse, and appoint him to command the left wing that day; the command of the right wing being as much as the lieutenant-general could apply himself unto. Which being granted by the general, the lieutenant-general assigned him five regiments of horse, a division of two hundred horse of the association for that wing; and the dragoons to line the forementioned hedge, to prevent the enemy from annoying the left flank of the army. In the mean time the lieutenant-general having six regiments of horse with him for the right wing, disposed them according as the place gave leave. And the form of the whole battle you have here inserted.

Upon the enemy's approach, the parliament's army marched up to the brow of the hill, having placed a forlorn of foot, (musketeers,) consisting of about three hundred, down the steep of the hill towards the enemy, somewhat more than carbine shot from the main battle, who were ordered to retreat to the battle, whensoever they should be hard pressed upon by the enemy. The enemy this while marched up in good order, a swift march, with a great deal of gallantry and resolution, according to the form here inserted. It is hard to say whether wing of our horse charged first: but the lieutenant-general not thinking it fit to stand and receive the enemy's charge, advanced forward with the right

wing of the horse, in the same order wherein it was placed. Our word that day was, *God our strength*; their word was, *Queen Mary*. Colonel Whaley being the left hand on the right wing, charged first two divisions of Langdale's horse, who made a very gallant resistance, and firing at a very close charge, they came to the sword: wherein colonel Whaley's divisions routed those two divisions of Langdale's, driving them back to prince Rupert's regiment, being the reserve of the enemy's foot, whither indeed they fled for shelter, and rallied: the reserves to colonel Whaley were ordered to second him, which they performed with a great deal of resolution. In the mean time, the rest of the divisions of the right wing, being straitened by furzes on the right hand, advanced with great difficulty, as also by reason of the unevenness of the ground, and a cony-warren over which they were to march, which put them somewhat out of their order in their advance. Notwithstanding which difficulty, they came up to the engaging the residue of the enemy's horse on the left wing, whom they routed, and put into great confusion; not one body of the enemy's horse which they charged but they routed, and forced to fly beyond all their foot, except some that were for a time sheltered by the brigade of foot before mentioned.

Colonel Rossiter, who with his regiment was just come into the field as the armies were ready to close, was edged in upon the right flank of the right wing of horse, time not permitting a more fitting and equal disposal of him: whose timely coming (according to his orders) gave him opportunity of such gallant performance in the battle as deserves an honourable mentioning.

The horse of the enemy's left wing being thus beaten

from their foot, retreated back about a quarter of a mile beyond the place where the battle was fought. The success of our main battle was not answerably; the right hand of the foot, being the general's regiment, stood, not being much pressed upon: almost all the rest of the main battle being overpressed, gave ground, and went off in some disorder, falling behind the reserves; but the colonels and officers, doing the duty of very gallant men, in endeavouring to keep their men from disorder, and finding their attempt fruitless therein, fell into the reserves with their colours, choosing rather there to fight and die, than to quit the ground they stood on. The reserves advancing, commanded by colonel Rainsborough, colonel Hammond, and lieutenant-colonel Pride, repelled the enemy, forcing them to a disorderly retreat. Thus much being said of the right wing and the main battle it comes next in order that an account be given of the left wing of our horse.

Upon the approach of the enemy's right wing of horse, our left wing drawing down the brow of the hill to meet them, the enemy coming on fast, suddenly made a stand, as if they had not expected us in so ready a posture: ours seeing them stand, made a little stand also, partly by reason of some disadvantage of the ground, and until the rest of the divisions of horse might recover their stations. Upon that, the enemy advanced again, whereupon our left wing sounded a charge, and fell upon them: the three right-hand divisions of our left wing made the first onset, and those divisions of the enemy opposite to them received the charge; the two left-hand divisions of the left wing did not advance equally, but being more backward, the opposite divisions of the enemy advanced upon them. Of the three right-hand divisions (before mentioned) which advanced, the mid-

dlemost charged not home; the other two coming to a close charge, routed the two opposite divisions of the enemy, (and the commissary general seeing one of the enemy's brigades of foot on his right hand pressing sore upon our foot, commanded the division that was with him to charge that body of foot, and, for their better encouragement, he himself with great resolution fell in amongst the musketeers, where his horse being shot under him, and himself run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with an halbert, was taken prisoner by the enemy, until afterwards, when the battle turning, and the enemy in great distraction, he had an happy opportunity to offer his keeper his liberty, if he would carry him off, which was performed on both parts accordingly.) That division of the enemy's which was between, which the other division of ours should have charged, was carried away in the disorder of the other two; the one of those right-hand divisions of our left wing that did rout the front of the enemy charged the reserve too, and broke them; the other reserves of the enemy came on, and broke those divisions of ours that charged them; the divisions of the left hand of the right wing were likewise overborne, having much disadvantage, by reason of pits of water, and other pieces of ditches that they expected not, which hindered them in their order to charge.

The enemy having thus worsted our left wing pursued their advantage, and prince Rupert himself having prosecuted his success upon the left wing almost to Naseby town, in his return summoned the train, offering them quarter, which being well defended with the firelocks, and a rearguard left for that purpose, who fired with admirable courage on the prince's horse, refusing to hearken to his offer, and the prince probably perceiving by that time the success of our right wing

of horse, he retreated in great haste to the rescue of the king's army, which he found in such a general distress, that instead of attempting any thing in the rescue of them, (being close followed in the rear by some of commissary general's, colonel Rich's, colonel Fleetwood's, major Huntington's, and colonel Butler's horse,) he made up further, until he came to the ground where the king was rallying the broken horse of his left wing, and there joined with them, and made a stand.

To return again to our right wing, which, prosecuting their success, by this time had beaten all the enemy's horse quite behind their foot, which when they had accomplished, the remaining business was with part to keep the enemy's horse from coming to the rescue of their foot, which were now all at mercy, except one tertia, which with the other part of the horse we endeavoured to break, but could not, they standing with incredible courage and resolution, although we attempted them in the flanks, front and rear, until such time as the general called up his own regiment of foot, (the lieutenant-general being likewise hastening of them,) which immediately fell in with them, with but-end of muskets, (the general charging them at the same time with horse,) and so broke them. The enemy had now nothing left in the field but his horse, (with whom was the king himself,) which they had put again into as good order as the shortness of their time and our near pressing upon them would permit.

The general (whom God preserved in many hazardous engagements of his person that day) seeing them in that order, and our whole army (saving some bodies of horse which faced the enemy) being busied in the execution upon the foot, and taking and securing prisoners, endeavoured to put the army again into as good order as they could receive, to the perfecting of the work that

remained: our foot were somewhat more than a quarter of a mile behind the horse, and although there wanted no courage nor resolution in the horse themselves alone to have charged the enemy, yet, forasmuch as it was not judged fit to put any thing to hazard, the business being brought (through the goodness of God) to so hopeful an issue, it was ordered our horse should not charge the enemy until the foot were come up; for by this time our foot that were disordered upon the first charge, being in shorter time than is well imaginable rallied again, were coming up upon a fast march to join with our horse, who were again put into two wings, within carbine shot of the enemy, leaving a wide space for the battle of foot to fall in, whereby there was framed, as it were in a trice, a second good battalia at the latter end of the day; which the enemy perceiving, and that if they stood they must expect a second charge from our horse, foot, and artillery, (they having lost all their foot and guns before,) and our dragoons having already begun to fire upon their horse, they, not willing to abide a second shock upon so great disadvantage as this was like to be, immediately ran away, both fronts and reserves, without standing one stroke more: our horse had the chase of them from that place, within two miles of Leicester, (being the space of fourteen miles,) took many prisoners, and had the execution of them all that way: the number of the slain we had not a certain account of, by reason of the prosecution of our victory, and speedy advance to the reducing of Leicester: the prisoners taken in the field were about five thousand, whereof were six colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, eighteen majors, seventy captains, eighty lieutenants, eighty ensigns, two hundred other inferior officers, besides the king's footmen and household servants, the rest common soldiers, four thousand five hundred. The

enemy lost very gallant men, and indeed their foot, commanded by the lord Astley, were not wanting in courage: the whole booty of the field fell to the soldier, which was very rich and considerable, there being amongst it, besides the riches of the court and officers, the rich plunder of Leicester.

Their train of artillery was taken, all their ordnance, (being brass guns,) whereof two were demi-cannon, besides two mortar-pieces, (the enemy got away not one carriage,) eight thousand arms and more, forty barrels of powder, two hundred horse, with their riders, the king's colours, the duke of York's standard, and six of his colours, four of the queen's white colours, with double crosses on each of them, and near one hundred other colours both of horse and foot; the king's cabinet, the king's sumpter, many coaches, with store of wealth in them: it was not the least mercy in this victory, that the cabinet letters, which discover so much to satisfy all honest men of the intention of the adverse party, fell likewise into our hands, and have been since published by the authority of the parliament, to the view of the whole kingdom.

The field was about a mile broad where the battle was fought, and, from the outmost flank of the right to the left wing, took up the whole ground.

Thus you have a true and exact relation of the work of this happy day.

1. The battle was fought much upon equal advantage, whether you respect the numbers on each side, there being in that not five hundred odds, or the ground it was fought upon being on both sides champaign, and in that respect equal, and the wind at length favouring neither side more than other. But in this the enemy had much the odds of us, that they had on their side not so few as fifteen hundred officers, that were old

soldiers, of great experience through long experience in foreign parts; when, on the other hand, we had not ten officers that could pretend to any such thing as the experience of a soldier, save what this war had given them, being for the most part such whose religion, valour, and present reason was their best conduct; and herein God went beyond our enemies in their pride, and seeming friends, in their contempt of this army.

2. Of how great consequence this victory was to the whole kingdom, that it may the better appear, let us take a view of it, and suppose we beheld it through the counter prospective of the contrary event, as if the enemy had had the victory, and we been beaten; and then methinks I see, not only this army, the only guardian of the kingdom, lying on a heap, furnishing the enemy with insulting trophies, but also our party in the west ruined, and the enemy there, like a violent torrent, carrying all before him. Methinks I see the king and Goring united, making a formidable army, and marching up to the walls of London, encouraging their soldiers, as formerly, with the promise of the spoil of that famous city. And if this success had been indulged them, and London not denied, (as who should such an army have asked it of?) what could have ensued worse or more! When once that city by such a fate had restored an emblem of undone Rome, when Cæsar came against it, that

—*nec solum vulgus inani*

Perculsum terrore pavet, sed curia, et ipsi

Sedibus exiliere patres, invisaque belli,

Consulibus fugiens mandat decreta senatus.

Tunc quæ tuta petant, et quæ metuenda relinquunt

Incerti, quo quemque fugæ tulit impetus, urgent

Præcipitem populum, serieque hærentia longa

Agmina prorumpunt.

Lucani Pharsalia, I. 486.

The senate shook, the affrighted fathers leave
Their seats, and, flying, to the consuls give
Directions for the war; where safe to live,
What place t' avoid, they know not, whether ere
A blest-ripe wit could guide their steps, they bear
Th' amazed people forth in troops, whom nought
So long had stirr'd.

And who needs any interpretation of this to have been a being cast in our cause, and a loosing of our charges? All this did God mercifully prevent by the success of that battle, and turned over this condition to the enemy, and thereby laid the happy foundation of all the blessed success we have had since.

He that shall not in this victory look beyond the instrument will injuriously withhold from God his due; he that doth not behold God in the instruments will not know how to give him his due; for when he doth actions by instruments, his glory is to be seen in instruments: now had I only to deal with actions, I might possibly by a competent expression give an account of them; but who may undertake to represent the lively frame of an heightened soul, and the working of the affections in such heroic actions? The general, a man subject to the like infirmities of body as well as passions of mind with other men, especially to some infirmities (contracted by former wounds); which however at other times they may hinder that puissant and illustrious soul that dwells within from giving a character of itself in his countenance; yet when he hath come upon action, or been near an engagement, it hath been observed, another spirit hath come upon him, another soul hath looked out at his eyes; I mean, he hath been so raised, elevated, and transported, as that he hath been not only unlike himself at other times, but indeed more like an angel than a man. And this was ob-

served of him at this time: now with what triumphs of faith, with what exultation of spirit, and with what a joint shout of all the affections, God is received into that heart, whose eyes he uses as an optic to look through, and trouble a proud enemy, itself only is privy to; what high transactions, what deep and endearing engagements pass mutually between God and such a soul, (for certainly the most immediate worship gives not a greater advantage,) is better felt experimentally than described historically; but such a discovery of these things was made in his outward man at this battle as highly animated his soldiers.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell useth these expressions concerning him in his letter to the house of commons:

"The general served you with all faithfulness and honour; and the best commendations I can give of him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume any thing to himself; which is an honest and thriving way; and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action as to a man."

I shall enlarge no further in this particular, but conclude, it was none of the least pledges, none of the lowest speaking providences betokening good success to this army, and promising much happiness to this nation, God's giving us such a general, and so giving out himself to our general.

The great share lieutenant-general Cromwell had in this action, who commanded the right wing of horse, (which did much service, carrying the field before them, as they did at Marston-moor,) is so known and acknowledged, that envy itself can neither detract nor deny. One passage relating to his service in this battle, which I have received from those that well knew it, I shall

commend to this history: that he being come not above two days before out of the association, and (that day the battle was) attending the general in the field, who was going to draw up for an engagement, he had the charge and ordering of all the horse cast upon him by the general unexpectedly but a little before the battle; which he had no sooner received, but it was high time to apply himself to the discharge of it: for before the field-officers could give a tolerable account of the drawing up of the army, the enemy came on amain in passing good order, while our army was yet in disorder, or the order of it but an embryo: which the lieutenant-general perceiving, was so far from being dismayed at it, that it was the rise and occasion of a most triumphant faith and joy in him, expecting that God would do great things by small means, and by *the things that are not, bring to nought things that are*. A happy time, when the Lord of hosts shall make his tabernacle in the hearts and countenances of our chief commanders, from thence to laugh his enemies to destruction, and have them in derision to confusion!

Had not major-general Skippon done gallantly, he had not received such an early wound in his side; and had he not had a spring of resolution, he had not stayed in the field, as he did, till the battle was ended; (for being desired by his excellency to go off the field, he answered, he would not stir, so long as a man would stand). That I mention not all those officers and soldiers particularly, who behaved themselves so gallantly in this action, is to avoid emulation and partiality: I shall satisfy myself to add, concerning them and the whole business, the words of the general and lieutenant-general in their several letters to the speaker of the house of commons, with which I shall conclude: "Honest men served you

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faithfully in this action; sir, they are trusty; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them^c:" which they have not done, blessed be God, and I hope never will. He proceeds, and wisheth "this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it;" and concludes thus modestly himself, "He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for," &c. "All that I desire," says the general, "is, that the honour of this great, never-to-be-forgotten mercy, may be given to God, in an extraordinary day of thanksgiving, and that it may be improved to the good of his church, which shall be faithfully endeavoured by, sir, your most humble servant, THOMAS FAIRFAX."

After the battle was ended, and the horse gone in pursuit, the army marched five miles that night, to Harborough (the head quarter). Most of the prisoners that were taken in the fight were that night brought into Harborough church, except those that were wounded and sent to Northampton.

Among other writings taken in the battle there was a manuscript presented to the general, written by one sir Edward Walker herald of arms of the king's great victories in this war, wherein there was one passage very observable; that whereas he, taking occasion to speak of the Irish, calls them *rebels*, the king having perused the book, among the alterations he had made therein in divers places with his own hand, in that place puts out *rebels*, and writes over the head, *Irish*, with his own hand (so much care was there to correct and qualify any expression that might reflect on those bloodthirsty rebels). There was also brought to the

^c Lieutenant-general Cromwell's close of his letter to the speaker of the house of commons.

headquarter a wooden image, in the shape of a man, and in such a form, as they blasphemously called it *the god of the Roundheads*; and this they carried in scorn and contempt of our army, in a public manner, a little before the battle begun.

The next day, colonel John Fiennes, with his regiment, was sent up to London by the general, with the prisoners and colours taken in the fight; who had a great share in the performance of that day, (being placed with his regiment in the right wing of horse,) carried himself gallantly, and was very happy in his success.

CHAPTER VI.

The victory at Naseby improved by pursuing the enemy, who fled into Wales. Leicester (not long before taken by the enemy) summoned, and after preparations for storm surrendered upon articles. Some clamours of the enemy for breach of articles found to be unjust, and the charge retorted on them. An instance of the enemy's desperate profaneness, joined with barbarous and inhuman cruelty.

THE enemy thus driven out of the field, his excellency gave orders for the army, horse, foot, and train, to march after them the next day, which was Lord's day, without any more intermission; the pursuing of the victory being of parallel consequence with the getting it: in obeying of which orders, the readiness and cheerfulness of the soldiers was admirable, and worthy our observation and remembrance, that when in respect of their long and hard march for many days together before the battle, and the vehement and sharp battle they had fought, they might well have pleaded for some time of refreshment; yet no sooner was the general's order given for marching, but they repaired all to their colours, and that very next day after the battle marched to Great Glyn, the headquarter, four miles short of Leicester.

The horse marched within a mile of Leicester that night, and kept guards, which so alarmed the nobles and gentry that had fled thither for security, that they departed thence in much haste, leaving the lord Hastings to defend that place.

This day his excellency received intelligence that sir John Gell, with about two thousand horse, was on his march towards the army, according to orders formerly sent him; as also that the king, with one part of the routed horse, not judging himself safe in Leicester, went thence that evening to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he reposed himself some few hours: but understanding that our army advanced, and that our horse pursued the chase, mounted on horseback in the night, and fled to Lichfield, and from thence into Wales, without any considerable stay, (so great was the affright,) the other part of the rout being the northern horse, under sir Marmaduke Langdale, fled the same night near Newark; both passing so, that it was the wonder of all men how they (being in such a tired and distracted condition) could escape sir John Gell's horse, who the same day were on their march from Nottingham towards Leicester.

This day furnished his excellency with a full intelligence of the state both of our friends' and our enemies' affairs in the west, by means of the contrivement of scout-master-general: the manner thus: a spy of his, formerly employed by him to secretary Nicholas in Oxford, was, the day that the army rose from before it, sent to him again, (yet as one coming of his own accord,) to give him intelligence that the army would that morning march away, (a thing they in Oxford knew well enough,) it being conceived that either the secretary would send him, or he might find some opportunity to go into the west, where general Goring then lay with

his army about Taunton, and bring us the intelligence we desired: accordingly it fell out: into the west he was sent, first to Bath, where the prince of Wales then was, to whom he brought the first news of the parliament's army rising from before Oxford, from thence (bearing the reward of ten pieces from the prince) to general Goring about Taunton, who received him and the news very gladly, and looking upon him as a fit instrument to be employed to the king, then about Leicester, and, as they supposed, intending northward, deal with him (as about a business of great concernment) to carry a packet of letters from him, the prince, and his council, to the king: he with some seeming difficulty suffered himself to be persuaded, received the packet, brought them to his excellency fair sealed up, discovering to him the true state of the enemy's armies and affairs in the west: the letters from the lord Goring to the king signifying, how that in three weeks' time (nine days whereof was then expired) he was confident to master our forces at Taunton, and, by consequence, to settle the west of England in an absolute posture for his majesty's service, and march up with a considerable army to his assistance; advising the king by all means in the mean time to stand upon a defensive posture, and not to engage till his forces were joined with his majesty. Had these letters been delivered to the king, (as they might have been but for this defeatment,) in all probability he had declined fighting with us for the present, and stayed for those additional, which would have been a far greater hazard. This intelligence did withal much quicken us to make speed to relieve Taunton; yet being so near Leicester, and Leicester in all probability being easily to be made ours, (considering the fear that they within were possessed withal by the loss of the day at Naseby, besides the want of men

thereby (in all likelihood) to make good their works, it was resolved first to assay that. Accordingly, Monday, June 16, about noon, the whole army came before the town: the general sent a summons to the lord Hastings, to surrender the garrison, with all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition therein, who returned a peremptory answer, as if he meant to defend it to the last man; whereupon a council of war being called, it was resolved to storm the place: warrants were sent to the hundreds to bring in ladders, carts, hay, straw, and other things fitting for a storm: wherein the country was very forward to give assistance.

Tuesday, June 17, great store of ladders were brought in, a battery was raised, upon which two demi-cannon and a whole culverin taken at Naseby were planted, which played upon an old work called *the Newark*; being the very same guns which the king not many days before had used against the same place. The lord Hastings, now beginning to perceive his condition was like to be desperate, sent a trumpeter with a letter to the general, desiring a parley concerning the surrender of the town, which his excellency, desirous to save blood, hearkened unto: commissioners were appointed to treat (on our side colonel Pickering and colonel Rainsborough); hostages on both sides were given; the treaty begun that evening, and held debate till twelve o'clock that night, and was concluded upon these articles:

1. That the lord Loughborough shall have quarter granted him, and have protection for his person to be safely conveyed to the garrison of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

2. That all field-officers, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, sergeants, majors, and captains, and lieutenants of horse, (but not of foot,) shall march away with their own particular single horse and arms, with protections for their own persons.

3. That all the rest of the officers shall be conveyed safely to the garrison of Lichfield with staves only, and no other weapons in their hand.

4. That all common soldiers have quarter only for their lives, and be conveyed to Lichfield without any other weapons, save only staves in their hands.

5. That before ten of the clock the said morning, June the 18th, the governor of the town, and the lord Loughborough, and all the rest of the officers and soldiers, march out of the garrison according to the agreement aforesaid.

6. That sir Thomas Fairfax be permitted to enter in at ten of the clock the said Wednesday morning aforesaid, with his forces, and take possession of the garrison.

7. That all the pieces of cannon, great and small, now in the garrison of Leicester, be left to sir Thomas Fairfax.

8. That all the arms and ammunition now in Leicester be left to sir Thomas Fairfax, save only what is agreed to for the officers of horse aforesaid.

9. That all the provisions, colours, bag and baggage, be also left to sir Thomas Fairfax.

10. That all the horse (save only those excepted for the officers aforesaid) that are in the garrison of Leicester be delivered up to sir Thomas Fairfax, for the service of the parliament.

11. That all the officers and soldiers have quarter for their lives.

12. That all the prisoners of war that are in Leicester at the same time be released and set free to serve the parliament.

The guards and sentinels of the gate-house prison in the Newark, hearing of the conclusion of the articles, about four o'clock on Wednesday morning went away from their duty, and left their arms behind them, and the prison door open, whereupon the prisoners went out, and finding the enemy a plundering, they fell a plundering too. About seven o'clock all their guards were drawn off, the soldiers on the line threw down their arms, quit their posts, and the gates were opened,

which gave invitation to divers of our straggling soldiers to get into the town at the ports and over the works: complaint hereof being made to his excellency, by some from the lord Hastings, (or Loughborough,) of the violation of the articles by our soldiers, his excellency sent to the lord Loughborough to keep all his men upon their guards, and if any offered violently to enter the town before the time, to fire upon them, and immediately issued out a proclamation, commanding the punctual observance of the articles by his own soldiers, under pain of death. But the lord Hastings, instead of standing upon his guard, (according to the articles, till ten of the clock that morning, which he ought to have done, whereby he might have prevented that inconveniency which fell out, and have performed his articles in delivering the town to his excellency with the arms and ammunition,) mounted on horseback in the morning with divers gentlemen, (officers and others,) and left the town some hours before the time appointed for his marching forth; so that when our commissioners came according to appointment to see the articles punctually performed, they found the lord Hastings was gone, and all the town in a confusion; but the soldiers were commanded off, and things were presently settled in good order, and about eleven o'clock that day the army entered the town, where we found divers commanders of note, viz. sergeant-major-general Eyres, colonel Lisle, lieutenant-colonel Mouldsworth, lieutenant-colonel Pemberton, major Naylor, major Trollop, besides divers persons of quality, all wounded in the battle.

There were taken in the town fourteen pieces of ordnance, thirty colours, two thousand arms, five hundred horse, fifty barrels of powder, and other ammunition, in a good proportion: the poor inhabitants were

overjoyed at their deliverance, though in a sad condition, being so plundered by the enemy at first taking the town, that many had nothing left but the bare walls, who before had their shops and houses well furnished: the mayor's house only escaped at that time, which now suffered for it. There is one piece of eminent wickedness, fit to be transmitted to the notice of the world, not only for its relation to this story, but to rectify their consciences who have been led with too good an opinion of the enemy, and it is attested by persons of good credit and quality: it is concerning colonel Thomas a Welchman, a papist, who was slain at the battle of Naseby: there were two brothers of them: the other was a lieutenant-colonel, taken prisoner in the battle; the former was conceived to be the man by the description of some of the inhabitants of Leicester, who have under their hands given this information: That the next day after the king had taken Leicester by storm, this colonel Thomas came to the gaol, where the prisoners they had taken at the entering the town were put, and called for the prisoners, and commanded such as were willing to serve the king to come to one side of the room. Divers of them coming accordingly, he commands them one by one to kneel down, and swear by Jesus, "I'll serve the king," which some of them accordingly did: he, not satisfied therewith, required them to swear "God dammee I'll serve the king," affirming publicly, he was not fit to serve the king that refused that oath, which they refusing, he drew his sword, cut them in the head, in the arms, and other parts of the body, wounding them in a most cruel manner. Some of the town of Leicester (amongst others) were the persons on whom this cruelty was exercised, and remain still to this day maimed by these wounds.

Wednesday, June 18, the treasure being come down, the army was mustered, and the town was settled in some order, and an express sent up unto the parliament, with the conditions upon which Leicester was surrendered. Intelligence came this day that the king was gone towards Hereford; it was taken into consideration to send horse after him, but the thoughts of the west occasioned the deferring the debate thereof for the present.

Thursday, June 19, complaint being made to his excellency by some of the king's party that they had been pillaged by our soldiers, his excellency declared, whosoever should be found guilty thereof, they should suffer the extremity of that punishment that belonged to the violators and betrayers of the justice and honour of the army, and therefore willed they might be informed against to the judge advocate of the army. But upon examination of divers witnesses, his excellency saw cause to charge the breach of articles on the lord Loughborough, and the injuries he complained of to his own failure, and therefore to demand reparation of him; and the carriage on the enemies' part appearing so foul in many particulars, which were here too tedious to mention, the general thought fit to detain the hostages; offering notwithstanding an examination of the business by commissioners, and engaging himself to make good whatsoever could be demanded of him in justice and honour, as he should expect the like from them. But they, loath to trust to the issue, answered not the meeting of our commissioners: his excellency therefore for a time detained the hostages, till afterwards, upon noble considerations, the indemnity of his own and the army's honour being sufficiently cautioned, he was pleased to release them.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

His excellency with the army marching westward to relieve Taunton the second time: taking in Highworth garrison by the way: curbing the clubmen: the retaking of Ilchester, and the brave fight at Langport.

NO sooner had the army done the work that God had for them thereabouts, but they marched towards Warwick, solicitous in nothing so much as which way they might best advance the public service; and although being very doubtful whether it were better to follow the king, and hinder his recruiting and raising a new army in Wales, or go down to the west to relieve the other part of our army, who had deserved no other at our hands, and stood in great need of it; who, should they by any unhappy blow be ruined, as they were certainly in great straits, (the enemy being, in common report, twelve thousand, and major-general Massey, who was sent to their relief, hardly three thousand; whereby it was thought that Goring might both keep off him and keep up our men about Taunton,) it would have been of sad consequence to the whole kingdom; for then would the enemy have possessed the whole west (except the garrisons of Lyme, Poole, and Weymouth) entire to themselves: the consequence of which, in respect of the trade and riches of those counties, the considerable towns and ports of both sides, both towards France and Ireland, seemed, with a great deal of reason, to persuade our present march thither; and being de-

sirous, in a business of that importance, not to determine themselves, they had sent to the parliament, and committee of both kingdoms, to have their resolution upon it, declaring their willingness to be swayed by their advice and counsel: yet, that they might not lose any time, they marched on to Marlborough, (with a disposition either to go over Severn at Gloucester, towards the king in Herefordshire, or to move westward, as they should be ordered,) where they receiving notice from the committee of both kingdoms that letters were sent to the Scotch army to march towards Worcester, and that they had their consent, and the house's also, to march westward; the army bent their course that way, having yet so tender a consideration of Gloucestershire, that they sent colonel Butler's regiment of horse to lie before Berkley-castle, to keep in sir Charles Lucas, (an active enemy and good soldier,) whilst the Gloucestershire troops might look to the security of that part of their country beyond Severn. This regiment was sent under quarter-master general Fincher, a stout man and a good soldier, and one that knew the country well (colonel Butler and his major, major Horton, being then under cure of their wounds received at Naseby). In five days' march, viz. by Thursday June 26, the army reached as far as Lechlade, where some of the enemy's garrisons were gathering contribution. Our forlorn hope fell upon them, shot lieutenant-colonel Nott, took four prisoners of Radcot garrison, and rescued some country people whom they were carrying away prisoners.

Friday, June 27, the army marched to Wanburrow, and in the way made an halt, and drew up before Highworth garrison, (being a church fortified by a line and bulwarks,) summoned the place. Major Hen, the governor, refused to yield: they planted their ordnance,

men were designed to storm, who being ready to fall on, he took down his bloody colours, and sounded a parley, and yielded upon quarter. The soldiers had good booty in the church, took seventy prisoners and eighty arms. This place standing convenient in a line for the garrison of Malmesbury, the general appointed the governor of Malmesbury to continue the place a garrison, for the better enlarging the parliament's quarters.

From Wanburrow the army marched to Burchalk in Wiltshire, by three stages, without any considerable action, save that on the Lord's day (June 29, while they rested at Marlborough) spies were sent from thence to Taunton, to give them notice of the army's advance for their relief.

Monday, June 30, the army marched from Marlborough to Almsbury, fourteen miles: that day being a day for a fair to be kept at Marlborough, some stragglers stayed behind the army, whom Duet from the Devizes surprised. Thence on Tuesday, July 1, they marched to Burchalk, twelve miles, and being drawn up that morning to a rendezvous at a place called Stonage, marched in battalia upon Salisbury plain: some officers and others of the army, who went out of the way through Salisbury, found the townsmen very peremptory, being confident of their own strength, by their association with other counties, in their meetings of clubmen, wearing white ribands in their hats, (as it were in affront of the army,) not sparing to declare themselves absolute neutrals, (or rather friends to the enemy); moreover news came this night, that the clubmen had risen upon some of major-general Massey's forces; that his men had done some execution upon them, and that they with much confidence required reparation.

Wednesday, July 2, the army marched to Blandford, twelve miles, and in their march took Mr. Penruddock and one Fussell, two captains of the clubmen, who being examined and convinced of their error, in causing such unlawful assemblies without authority, promised never to appear any more in that business, and thereupon were released.

In a narrow lane in this day's march was a soldier executed, (one of the forementioned stragglers,) being by the country apprehended and accused for plundering of a gentleman passing on the way near Marlborough.

That night intelligence met the general at Blandford, that Goring had drawn off to Blackdown and burnt his huts; that some of our spies, sent to give them intelligence, were got into Taunton, and gave them notice of our coming.

Thursday, July 3, the army marched from Blandford to Dorchester, twelve miles, a very hot day, where colonel Sidenham, governor of Weymouth, (whose parts and resolution showed in the defence and recovery of that place deserve not to be forgotten,) met the general, and gave him information of the condition of those parts, and of the great danger of the club risers, who would not suffer (so high were they grown) either contribution or victuals to be carried to the parliament's garrisons. That night Mr. Hollis, the chief leader of the clubmen, with some others of their leaders, desired a let pass from the general, to present a petition to the king and parliament: the petition being read, and found to be of a strange nature, the matter was debated: their design appeared to be desperately evil against the parliament: Hollis, peremptory in his opinion, not to be convinced, affirming himself to be one of their leaders, and that it was fit the people should show their

strength: they were promised they should have an answer in writing the next morning: they were so strong, and withal so confident of their strength at that time, that it was held a point of prudence to be fair in demeanour towards them for a while; for if in case we should engage with Goring, and some of our men be put to the rout, these clubmen would be more cruel than the enemy, and knock our men on the heads as they should fly for safety; and some of them did not stick to say, "We know our own strength to be such, that we are able both against king and parliament to defend ourselves, and to do more if need require." And indeed if this had not been crushed in the egg, it had on an instant run all over the kingdom, and might have been destructive to the parliament. The king being assured, if this third party had so prevailed as to be in a condition to give a law to either side, it would have been no disadvantage to his affairs, being indeed raised, many of them, by commission from him, and countenanced by a neutral party within ourselves.

This night more certain and particular intelligence came, that Goring had drawn off his men to Blackdown, to invite them in Taunton to sally out, that he might take advantage to surprise them; but failing of his expectation, returned back again to his former quarters about Taunton, and made some slight attempt upon our party there, but to little purpose. Our foot hearing that Goring was fallen on again, were eager to march all that night, after twelve miles' march that day, which was also but the moiety of sixty-two miles' march in five days before, so far did their compassion to Taunton and our party there carry them beyond consideration of themselves.

This day intelligence was that the clubmen were risen against the Lyme forces, and were engaged, and

many of them slain, and taken the governor's brother (major Ceeley, a stout man, hardly escaping). Friday, July 4, Hollis the clubman received his answer in writing, which with the petitions were transmitted to the parliament, which, for the reader's satisfaction, but especially that we may be affected with this great mercy of God, in checking this great mischief and royal design, I shall insert the extract of their petitions, with the general's answer to them, that in the dangerousness of their positions, as in a glass, and by the help of the general's answer, you may see the greatness of the deliverance. In the army's passage from Blandford to Dorchester came four agents of the clubmen of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire; the chief speaker was Mr. Hollis of Dorsetshire, brother to him of Salisbury; their business was to procure a pass from the general for these persons to go to the king and parliament with petitions; to the king were to go doctor Henry Goche, of Trinity college in Cambridge, and Mr. Thomas Bromwell, divines; John St. Loe, Peter Hoskins, esquires; Mr. Thomas Young an attorney, and Mr. Robert Paulet, gentleman. To the parliament, Mr. Melchizadeck Waltham, Mr. Richard Hook, club-divines; Thomas Trenchard, Robert Calliford, esquires; George Hawles, Richard Newman, gentlemen. Mr. Hollis tendered to the general the petitions so to be conveyed, as also the articles of association. The brief account of both is this: the articles were, that the associates provide arms, set watches, be quiet with them that are so; lay hold on disorderly soldiers, bring them to the next garrisons; not to refuse quarter and contribution to their ability, till their petitions be delivered; not to favour either party, nor to protect any not associated. The heads of the petitions were, to desire a renewed treaty, with a cessation, as also that the garrisons of Dorset and Wiltshire be put

into their hands, till the king and parliament agree about their disposal; that they be free from all charge, but the maintenance of those garrisons; that all laws not repealed, be in force and executed by the ordinary officers; that all men who desire it may lay down arms; that others, that have absented themselves from their dwellings, may have free liberty to return and live at home.

After speech had with them, and some consultation what to do in the business, it pleased the general to return his answer in writing, to this purpose:

Although the paper brought to me, being not subscribed, cannot challenge any answer, yet, to clear myself from any averseness to the satisfaction of the country, who are pretended to be interested in these petitions, I return this:

That my affections and the affections of this army are as much inclined to peace as any men's whatsoever; and we undertake the war for no other end, but the establishing of a firm and happy peace, by opposing the enemies thereof; and that I shall be ready, so far as concerns me, to further all lawful and fit means to procure it: but having seen the petitions upon which a Let-pass is desired, I must profess myself not so well satisfied with some things contained in them, as to concur to their delivering by any act of mine: in particular, in that a cessation is desired; whilst by letters written by the king and queen, taken at the late battle of Naseby, it evidently appears that contracts are already made for the bringing in ten thousand French and six thousand Irish. It is further desired, that the garrisons in these parts, whereof three are seaports, should be delivered up to the petitioners; which to grant, were for the parliament to acquit part of the trust reposed in them by the kingdom, and, considering these foreign preparations, to run very great hazard to those ports themselves and to the whole kingdom. Thirdly, it is propounded, that liberty be given to all soldiers to disband, and to return to their home if they desire it; which may with equal justice be desired by all parts of the kingdom, and so

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the parliament made unable to manage the war before peace settled.

These considerations, with some other yet to be debated, will not allow me to grant the desire of the letter: but as for that part of the petition which declares the grievances of the country by plunder and violence, committed either by garrisons or armies; I do hereby promise and undertake for the garrisons and armies under the command of the parliament, that whatsoever disorders are committed by them, upon complaint making known the offences and persons, justice shall be done, and satisfaction given: as also, I shall endeavour that the parliament's garrisons may be regulated according to any reasonable agreement with the country; and without doubt the parliament will cause them to be slighted, so soon as the condition of those parts and the public good shall permit: and that the army under my command shall be ordered as may be most for the good and advantage of these counties and of the whole kingdom; of which some reasonable testimony is already given, in their quiet and orderly passage through these and other counties, without many of those complaints which usually follow armies.

I further desire, that in the publishing this my answer to your request, all assembling the people to public rendezvous may be forborne, and that copies hereof may be dispersed to the several parishes, that the country may be acquainted therewith.

THO. FAIRFAX.

If this would not satisfy these men, their own clubs would in time have beaten reason into them: but to leave them, and proceed with my story.

The army marched that day from Dorchester to Beauminster, the train and most of the foot quartered on the top of an hill, some few in Beauminster town, a place of the pittifulest spectacle that man can behold, hardly an house left not consumed with fire; the town being fired by some of the enemy in five places at once, when prince Maurice was there, by reason of a falling

out between the French and Cornish. Intelligence was positive that night, that Goring had quite drawn off the siege from Taunton, and was come to Ilminster, and as that night his quarter would be Summerton: whereupon his excellency sent a party of horse to Crookhorn, who took some of his soldiers prisoners, and brought them away to the general at Beauminster, who confessed no less than what we had heard, that the siege was raised, and that Goring was marched towards Langport. Thus is Taunton the second time relieved, and our party there delivered from an imminent danger, which they feared, if we had not come thus seasonably to them (being greatly distressed both for ammunition and victuals). In maintaining the place this siege, we lost colonel Floyd and colonel Richbell, both of them faithful experienced soldiers, and some officers more: in exchange of whom the enemy lost many officers, and persons of quality; one of them of more note, viz. sir John Digby, brother to sir Kenelm Digby, received there his mortal wound, of which he afterwards died.

But the enemy flying, what was the army to do but follow? and so they did on the morrow, a very hot season, the foot weary with their long and tedious march; the carriage horses tired out, the way ill and narrow (being all enclosure). They marched that day but to Crookhorn, some six miles; but here intelligence came that made them pull up their stumps (as weary as they were). After that the army was come into Crookhorn, they heard that our horse, sent under the command of colonel Fleetwood, had fallen on their rear, taken some prisoners, and the great bodies were like to engage; whereupon three regiments more were commanded to march up and assist them, if there should be cause; two regiments of foot also being ordered for

that service, notwithstanding their weary march, leaped for joy; that they were like to be engaged, and according to orders marched from Crookhorn (after they had rested an hour) to Pederton that night; the enemy having pulled down Pederton-bridge, and made breast-works on the other side, upon our first approach with the party under colonel Fleetwood, deserted the pass: we instantly made up the bridge, and marched over it till we came near Ilchester, and another party to Load-bridge, where the enemy kept the pass with a strong guard: the general and lieutenant-general mounted instantly, and rode from Crookhorn after the forces, to order them, if an engagement; but the enemy, standing upon the advantage of the pass, avoided it; the general having appointed strong guards at Pederton and Martock, returned back to Crookhorn, where some of the commanders of Taunton met the general, and mutual congratulations passed betwixt them and the army by occasion of his timely relief of Taunton the second time: the valour, diligence, and fidelity of colonel Welden, with the rest of those commanders engaged with him in the defence of that besieged place, deserves to be expressed at large; but for want of a relation of their proceedings during that siege, I must content myself only to mention their service with honour: as also the good service of the horse commanded by colonel Graves, who in several sallies upon the enemy were very successful.

Lord's day, July 6, the army resting at Crookhorn, and the rest of their quarters, about four in the afternoon, (six in the evening, twelve at night, and two in the morning,) the general had certain intelligence by his spies, confirmed by several hands, that the enemy continued still at Long-Sutton, keeping a guard at Load-bridge, and making good the garrison at Ilchester

and Langport, the two passes upon the river, and had broken down the bridge towards the town of Evill, higher up the river; whereupon orders were given for drums to beat by four in the morning. And accordingly, Monday July 7, the foot were drawn out by six of the clock to a rendezvous in a field about a mile from Crookhorn, in the way to Pederton. The general and lieutenant-general went with a party, and viewed the pass at Load-bridge: our horse appearing in great numbers gave the enemy an alarm, whereupon they drew up their foot, and marched some regiments from Load-bridge, along the river side to Ilchester, fearing we should storm that place, our horse and theirs skirmishing upon the meadows near the river by parties all that day. A council of war was called in the field, to consider what course to take to engage the enemy, who keeping himself beyond the river, and having the garrisons of Ilchester, Langport, Burrough, and Bridgewater, there was no possible coming over upon that side; to force our passage in that place, where the enemy stood in good order on the other side the river, to receive us, was a business of exceeding difficulty, it being also a moorish ground. Upon the right hand the enemy had broken down the bridge at Evill, keeping a guard of horse upon it, and all the bridges upon that side, so that there seemed to be no passage convenient for us, till we came to the head of the river about Sherborn, which would prove a difficult and long march; upon which it was resolved to march the greatest part of the army to Evill, and there to force our passage, leaving still a convenient number both of horse and foot over against Ilchester and Load-bridge, to engage the enemy, in case he should attempt to advance on this side; accordingly our foot marched to Evill, the head quarter for that night; we were no sooner

come there, but the enemy's horse retreated to Ilchester; orders were given to make up the bridge, which was speedily done. July the 8th, early in the morning, certain intelligence was brought to the army, by one of their spies, (sent for that purpose into the enemy's army,) that the enemy (hearing the pass at Evill was gained by our forces) retreated towards Langport with the army, quit Load-bridge, burnt divers fair houses there. Colonel Phillips, the governor of Ilchester, in the night-time quit the town, leaving the works standing undemolished; only the Bridewell, a place the enemy had fortified, they set on fire, which was quickly quenched by the inhabitants.

This day the army, declining to march over the pass at Evill, hearing Ilchester was quit, marched back towards Ilchester, upon the same side the river, and quartered there that night, where no provisions were left for our soldiers. Intelligence also came, that whilst we went on the other side, Goring, being drawn down to Langport, had drawn a great part of his army towards Taunton, as if he intended to surprise the town, thinking to find them in security: whereupon the general sent major-general Massey after Goring with his own brigade of horse, and a considerable strength of horse and dragoons of his own army; and moreover the general took care that a considerable party of horse more should be sent after those horse, as a reserve, if need were.

This day colonel Butler's regiment, commanded by major Fincher, quarter-master-general of our horse, came up to the army, and in their march from Berkeley-castle did very good service; first at Dursley, they entertained sir Charles Lucas, coming to beat up their quarters, killed the captain of the forlorn hope, after that charged the party with two troops, killed ten,

(whereof two captains,) took thirty-nine prisoners, hurt sir Charles Lucas himself: from thence they came to Highworth, where the enemy from Farrington had entered the town, whom they beat out, and delivered to the governor the quiet possession of his garrison: from thence to the Devizes, where they took some horse, and so to Dorchester, where they took some of Sherborn horse, and so came to the army very seasonably, the army being nearer an engagement than they expected.

Wednesday, July 9, the army marched to Long-Sutton. News came there that major-general Massey was near upon an engagement: the general immediately gave command that colonel Montague should march with two thousand musketeers to his assistance, (being in an enclosed country,) who marched accordingly, but the engagement was over before he could come up, and the welcome news was brought that Goring's party, which the major-general had there engaged, was beaten, many slain, nine colours and three hundred horse taken. Colonel Cook, a gentleman of much temper and resolution, carried himself gallantly in that service, and received a shot through both cheeks. This afternoon ours had continual skirmishing with the enemy's horse at a pass, a mile on this side Langport, took a French cornet and his colours, a Dutchman and a Spaniard prisoners.

Thursday, July 10, a council of war was held what course we should take to force the enemy to fight, seeing he stood upon his advantage, having the passes upon the river, and might fight or fly at pleasure. Whilst the council of war were in debate thereof, not knowing what to do, (the enemy being still at his election, whether to fight or not,) intelligence came that the enemy was advanced with his foot from Langport to the pass,

and had lined the hedges thick with musketeers, and drawn up his ordnance: this resolved the question at the council of war without putting it: whereupon the general, and lieutenant-general Cromwell, and all the officers, instantly mounted, rode up to the field, perceived the enemy to put himself in a posture for an engagement; instantly the army was ordered to be put in battalia, the forlorn hope of horse and foot drew out, ordnance were drawn down to places of advantage, messengers were sent to recall most of the horse and foot, lately sent to assist major-general Massey, but before they could come up our ordnance began to play, (a good while before the foot engaged,) doing great execution upon the body of the enemy's army, both horse and foot, who stood in good order upon the hill, (about musket shot from the pass,) and forcing them to draw off their ordnance, and their horse to remove their ground. Our foot advanced down the hill to the pass, and with admirable resolution charged the enemy from hedge to hedge, till they got the pass. The enemy's horse upon this drew down towards us, whereupon our horse advanced over the pass up the hill to the enemy. The forlorn hope of horse, commanded by major Bethell, gave a valiant and brave charge indeed, broke that body that charged him, and the next reserve. Our reserve of horse, that was commanded by major Desborough, very resolutely charged the next standing bodies of the enemy so home, that instantly they put them to a disorderly retreat, and our musketeers came close up to our horse, firing upon the enemy, whereupon their regiments of white colours, and black colours of foot, before ever they engaged, marched away apace; the forlorn under major Bethell, and those under major Desborough, were going in pursuit of the chace, but receiving orders to stay till more bodies of horse were

come up, that the pursuit might be orderly, and with good reserves, in case the enemy should face about and charge again, (which was not impossible,) they obeyed their orders as good soldiers will, though it check their sweetest pleasure (as to pursue a flying enemy was no less). When the enemy had fled about two miles they made a stand in a plain green field, (where the passage out was narrow,) called *Aller Drove*, but received only a piece of a charge, and then, seeing our bodies coming on orderly and fast, faced about, and never stood after. The passes being narrow in many places, and the ditches being deep and wide, especially at that place where they first faced about, many horses of the enemy's were lost in the ditches, whereof our soldiers recovered store, and the riders got into the meadows, hoping to escape, but could not. We pursued the enemy within two miles of Bridgewater, (whither the enemy fled,) doing execution upon them all the way, (being eight miles in length,) took about fourteen hundred prisoners, about twelve hundred horse, and divers officers of quality, colonel Henningham, colonel Slingsby (the general of Goring's ordnance) were also taken; about thirty colours of horse and foot: and on the other hand, it was a victory as cheap to us as dear to them: we lost no officer, not twenty common soldiers; some fourteen or sixteen of major Bethell's troop were hurt, and himself shot in the right hand. No sooner was the enemy put to a retreat, but in great confusion they quitted Langport, into which many of them had fled, (a strong garrison, naturally well fortified, being about half a mile from the place of the fight,) and set it on fire, but by the industry of the soldiers and townsmen it was quenched. The enemy with a body of foot, drawing along with them two pieces of ordnance by the way of Langport, were pursued by lieutenant-general Cromwell,

and the ordnance and most of the foot taken. And thus you have in a very short space an account of a very great action.

CHAPTER II.

The particulars of that gallant service, the storming of Bridgewater.

AFTER this battle, the army marched five miles to Middlesey in the way to Bridgewater. The bold carriage of Hollis the clubman was very notorious, who the morning (an hour) before the fight began, came with a petition to the general from his fellows and followers; withal telling the general in plain terms, that if he did not give them better satisfaction than what he had yet given them, they must take another course. His petition, upon reading, was found of that nature, and his impudent carriage so insufferable withal, that the general committed him to the marshal; but he made a shift to get away so soon as he saw the day was lost. The next day the whole army, horse and foot, with the train, were drawn up in Westonmoor, otherwise called *Pensy Pound*, two miles from Bridgewater. The countrymen thereabouts, that had been vexed with the cavaliers, hearing of the defeat given unto them, and fearing to taste of their former cruelties, rose in great numbers, and with their colours, clubs, and arms, appeared upon Knolhill; which being made known to the general, he with the lieutenant-general and other officers marched up to them, who seemingly received him with joy, and in token thereof gave a volley of shot: whence after some conference with them and their leader, who made a neutral speech, the general returned, and the army that night went to quarter, the headquarter that night being appointed at Chedsay, within two miles of Bridgewater.

Friday, July 11, colonel Welden's brigade was commanded on the north side of the town towards Devonshire, and the rest of the army on this side towards Chedsay; the guards being set, the general with the lieutenant-general went to view the town, which they found to be very strong, standing in a valley, yet glorying in the equality of its level with the ground about it, there being not a clod that could afford any advantage against that place; the fortifications very regular and strong, the ditch about it very deep, and about thirty foot wide, which for a great part about the town was every tide filled up to the brim with water, the compass of ground within the line and works not great, very well manned, having in it about eighteen hundred soldiers to defend it: within the town was a castle of indifferent strength: there was planted on the several batteries about forty pieces of ordnance; well stored with ammunition and victuals, being a magazine for all the petty garrisons thereabouts.

Saturday, July 12, the army continued in quarters, and new places for guards were appointed.

Lord's day, July 13, we rested at Chedsay; and colonel Okey having, from that day the battle was at Langport, besieged Burrough garrison with his dragoons, had the same surrendered unto him upon quarter, wherein were one hundred and forty prisoners, the officers being promised fair usage.

Monday, July 14, a council of war was called, great debate whether to storm the town or not; some inclination to it, but no positive resolution; notwithstanding, preparations were made in order to a storm; the soldiers cheerfully made their fagots, and were drawn in readiness for a storm; but upon further consideration were for that time drawn back to their quarters; and more time being taken, there were eight long bridges,

betwixt thirty and forty foot length, devised to be made by lieutenant-general Hammond, the lieutenant-general of the ordnance, (a gentleman of approved fidelity, and of a most dexterous and ripe invention for all such things,) which were approved of by the commanders and officers, and accordingly ordered to be made, and were of very great use to the soldier in the storm.

This day the general, going over the river to view the posts on the other side, was graciously delivered from a great danger he was near unto by a sudden surprisal of the tide called the *Eager*, where he very narrowly escaped drowning.

Tuesday, July 15, the general went to Glastonbury, and returned that night to the headquarter.

Wednesday, July 16, a council of war was again called, and several propositions were made for the freeing of our army, and reduction of the town, both being of great consequence, and vehemently desired by us. To rise with our whole army and leave the town unattempted, was conceived to be very prejudicial to our future progress; to sit down before it, (being a place of that strength, and we not sure to carry it,) leaving the enemy at liberty to rally his broken forces, seemed very hazardous.

The blocking of it up by forts on both sides with a part of our army was propounded; but the difficulty of laying a bridge over the river, through the violence of the current, (which yet was necessary for the maintaining a communication between our quarters on both sides,) hindered that design.

It was propounded to attempt it by approaches; but it was considered, that if we should have gone that way it would have proved very tedious; and if during our stay about it any great glut of rain should have fallen,

it would have laid us wet in our trenches, and disabled us from effecting the business.

At last, a resolution to storm it was agreed upon, though it carried the greatest danger with it: yet the desire which the army had to be speedily free, for the further service of the kingdom, surmounted all difficulties. The storming being thus happily resolved on, to the great and general satisfaction of all that army, both officers and soldiers, lots were drawn for every one to take their posts, some to storm, some to be reserves, others to alarm, but the time of falling on not yet determined.

Friday, July 19, it was resolved at a council of war that the time of the storm should be on Monday morning towards dawning of the day. The brigade appointed to storm on that side towards Devon was commanded by major-general Massey, being the regiments of colonel Welden, colonel Inglesby, colonel Fortescue, colonel Herbert, colonel Birch, and major-general Massey's own regiment: the regiments designed on this side were the generals, major-generals, colonel Pickering's, colonel Montague's, sir Hardress Waller's, the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Pride, colonel Rainsborough's, and colonel Hammond's. The general rode round about the town this day, to see if all things were in readiness for the storm, that both sides might fall on together. On the Lord's day, July 20, Mr. Peters in the forenoon preached a preparation sermon, to encourage the soldiers to go on; Mr. Bowles likewise did his part in the afternoon. After both sermons the drums beat, the army was drawn out into the field: the commanders of the forlorn hope, who were to begin the storm, and the soldiers, being drawn together in the field, were there also afresh exhorted to do their duties, (with undaunted courage and resolu-

tion,) by Mr. Peters, who did it (as one says of him) *tam Marte quam Mercurio*. As soon as it grew dark, the soldiers drew every one to their several posts allotted them to storm. The sign when the storm was to begin, was, the shooting off three pieces of ordnance on this side, which the forces on the other side were to take notice of, and to fall on at the instant: and on Monday, July 22, about two of the clock in the morning, the storm began accordingly on this side of the town (the forces on the other side only alarming the enemy, which kept them upon the line, expecting a storm). Our forlorn hope was manfully led on by lieutenant-colonel Hewson, and as valiantly seconded by the general's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Jackson; and the major-general's, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Ashfield. The bridges prepared to pass over the moat were quickly brought to the ditch and thrown in, on which the soldiers with little loss got over the deep ditch, and with undaunted courage mounted the enemy's works, (notwithstanding the great and small shot which showered about them,) beat them from their ordnance, turned them upon the enemy, and let down their drawbridge; which made many of their foot instantly cry, *Quarter, quarter*. The bridge being let down, captain Rainolds, who commanded the forlorn hope of horse, immediately entered, and scoured the streets of that part of the town so gained, called *East-over*, with much gallantry and resolution, even up to the drawbridge over the main ditch leading to the second town: whereupon the rest of the officers and soldiers that were in a body, and yet annoyed us in that part of the town which we had won, threw down their arms, and had fair quarter given them; (there were about six hundred taken prisoners, officers and soldiers;) the enemy instantly made barricades at the

gate upon the bridge, and drew up the bridge that divided one part of the town from the other. Our forces had not been two hours in the first town, but the enemy shot granados and slugs of hot iron, and fired it on both sides, which by the next morning burnt that part of the town (of goodly buildings) down to the ground, except three or four houses, major Cowel, who had a good share in that service, standing all that while in the midst of the street, which was both sides on fire, keeping guards to prevent the enemy's sallying upon them: captain Sampson, in that remarkable action, received a shot.

The general, hoping that the storm might have wrought upon the soldiers, and the fire upon the townsmen, so far that they would have hearkened to a treaty, renewed his summons, which the governor peremptorily refused, according to his allegiance (as he said); whereupon, Tuesday, July 22, it was resolved to alarm the town by our forces on this side, and to storm it by the other forces on the other side, at two of the clock the next morning; for which purpose the general was there in person to see it done, though it was held fit, on after considerations, only to alarm on both sides, which much amazed the enemy, and kept him waking that night: also about two of the clock in the afternoon, the general sent to the governor a trumpet with a message to this purpose, that his denial of fair terms had wrought in him no other thoughts but of compassion towards those that were innocent, who otherwise might suffer through the governor's obstinacy: wherefore he signified his noble pleasure, that all women and children that would accept of this liberty should come forth of the town by four of the clock in the afternoon; which being made known to them, the governor's lady and divers others came out. They were

no sooner come forth, but our cannon played fiercely into the town, granados were shot, and slugs of hot iron in abundance, whereby several houses in the town were fired, and the wind being high increased the flame: the townsmen within were in great distraction, every man employed how to save his house and goods; the enemy in a great amazement, and the governor so far melted as to send forth Tom Elliot in haste, to desire to know the general's terms. The general refused to admit of any treaty at all, resolved that the governor and they within, that had destroyed so fine a town, should have no conditions, but should submit to mercy; which being signified to the enemy, they yet would try the general with these three particulars:

First, that the governor with all the officers and gentlemen that were in the town, with their servants, horses, swords, pistols, and cloak bags, might march with a safe convoy to Exeter.

Secondly, that all the soldiers might likewise march to Exeter leaving their arms.

Thirdly, that all clergymen in the town, and townsmen, might have liberty to march with them, or abide at home.

EDMUND WINDHAM.

Whereto the general returned these:

1. To all, their lives.
2. To the inhabitants, their liberty and freedom from plunder.
3. Neither officers nor soldiers to be plundered of the clothes they had upon them.
4. The gentlemen to be disposed of as the parliament should appoint, and in the mean time to have civil usage.
5. Six hostages to be sent, and an answer in a quarter of an hour.

THO. FAIRFAX.

The governor returned answer, that he found those propositions so ill resented, both by the gentlemen and

soldiers, that he could not accept of them. The general thereupon gave order to the soldiers to stand upon their guard, and go to their duties. Tom Elliot desired nothing might be done till he returned, leaving sir John Heale as caution, which was agreed to; and he presently returned with an answer of submission to the general's articles, only slipped in a motion for himself, that he might have liberty to carry the news to the king upon his parole. May he have more such employment till peace be settled!

Thereupon the hostages were sent: sir John Heale, sir Hugh Windham, Mr. Waldron, Mr. Warr, Mr. Sidingham, Mr. Speake. And we sent some into the town to them.

They were to deliver the town, and yield themselves prisoners, the next morning by eight of the clock, and all that night they employed themselves to quench the fire in the town. The loss of men in this storm was not many; Mr. Martin, an officer in the train, had his leg shot, and afterwards cut off, whereof he died: he behaved himself valiantly.

Wednesday, July 23, the town was surrendered, about one thousand officers and soldiers, besides gentlemen and malignant clergy, marched out as prisoners. There were taken in the town about forty-four barrels of powder, fifteen hundred arms, forty-four pieces of ordnance, four hundred weight of match, enemy's goods of great value, that had been carried for security into that place, and were seized by the commissioners of the parliament, and sold; and 5s. a man raised upon the sale, to be bestowed as a reward upon the common soldiers for their good service in the storming of the place.

That which may seem to allay the happiness of the success was, that the town was fired; but truly though

SPRIGG.

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in strictness of soldiery this might be very well justified, yet God in his providence concurred to the justice of it, and our acquaintance: they refused treaty after part taken, they fired the part we had taken, and rang the bells for joy when they saw it blaze; and, as we are credibly informed, they fired the town themselves in many places where fireworks could do no hurt, the soldiers saying, *The town did it to be rid of them*; the town said, *The soldiers did it, when they were in little hopes to hold it*. But God be thanked, we found much more of it standing than we expected. Some things there are which made the business considerable. As, first, that by it a line of garrisons was drawn over that isthmus of ground between the south sea and Severn, by Bridgewater, Taunton, Lime, and Langport, it being from Bridgewater to Lime little above twenty miles, by which the counties of Devon and Cornwall, then wholly in the enemy's possession, except Plymouth, were in a manner blocked up from all intercourse with the eastern parts; a business of no small consequence, if we had proceeded no further. Likewise this being taken, our army was at liberty for further work, which was a great mercy at that time of the year. It was a great gain with little loss: and that which adds as much to the commendation of the action as any thing, we kept our articles exactly; which is not only honourable in the eyes of men, but acceptable in the sight of God, and that which this war had scarce formerly attained; and it was not done without some difficulty now, in regard our soldiers had suffered so much, and Cornwall was so near.

Thursday, July 24, all the day was spent in ordering the manner of sending away the prisoners, and securing malignants' goods in the town. And thus you have that gallant fight at Langport crowned with an easy recovery

of that considerable strength of Bridgewater, whose natural fortification by water they that knew must needs conclude, God was the bridge by which our army got over.

CHAPTER III.

The taking of Bath. The clubmen's reply, and his excellency's rejoinder, in two considerable actions defeating them. The impregnable castle of Sherborne taken by storm.

FRIDAY, July 25, a council of war was called, to advise how and which way next the army might lay out themselves to the most advantage and best service of the commonwealth; whether to make up further west to Goring, or to stay in the eastern parts to curb the clubmen. And in favour of this latter, it was considered, that the army wanted ammunition to march far west, to undertake any considerable action; and that this was a needful work, there being also several garrisons of the enemy, by which the clubmen took great boldness to show themselves. It was therefore, without any other bias than such wholesome and valuable considerations, resolved, that the army should first make it their business to reduce these clubmen to better manners; and to that end, to take in those garrisons that countenanced and encouraged them, viz. Bath, Sherborne, &c. Otherwise (these considerations set aside) the inclination of the general and the council of war was to have advanced further west.

And a march being resolved on, it was accordingly undertaken on the morrow, when the army marched to Martock, ten miles; where resting on the Lord's day, there was a thanksgiving for their success in the taking of Bridgewater.

Three drums came thither from Bath, with letters for passes for ladies, but indeed to discover the motion of

the army; or, as it proved through the improvement of Providence, to mind the general of that place, if he had not minded it before.

The intention of the general and the advice of the council of war was to advance rather more west than east; but upon the forementioned considerations, as also reckoning it a service of importance for the straitening of Bristol, and the countenancing the well-affected countrymen thereabouts, first to take Bath, advanced towards it, and marched from Martock to Wells, being fourteen miles, and a very hot day, and sent a brigade of horse and foot unto Sherborne, under the command of that pious and deserving gentleman colonel Pickering, to face that garrison, and to view the same; and if there were hopes to reduce it, to sit down before it, in order to a siege. The horse quarters this night were nearer unto Bath, and more force was sent to get between Bath and Bristol; having intelligence that their distractions were such in Bath, that they would easily be driven to quit it: but the general stayed at Wells, expecting to hear from the party of horse and dragoons under the command of colonel Rich, which he had sent towards Bath.

Tuesday, the 29th, colonel Rich, facing the town with horse and dragoons, summoned the town, but the governor refused to surrender. Towards evening, our dragoons, commanded by colonel Okey, were drawn near the bridge, and crept on their bellies over it to the gate, seized on the small end of the enemy's muskets, which they put through the loopholes of the gate, and cried to the enemy to take quarter, which so affrighted the enemy, that they ran to their work which flankered the bridge, and left their muskets behind them, as of no use to them, so of as little to us: our men instantly fired the gate, and became masters of

the bridge, upon which the deputy-governor sent for a parley; and upon the treaty the town was yielded upon articles, making the common soldiers, who were about one hundred and forty, prisoners, and having conditions for the officers to march away to what garrison they pleased. We found in the town six pieces of ordnance, four hundred arms, twelve barrels of powder, the works, besides the wall of the city, strong and tenable. It was yielded in a good time, for prince Rupert was advanced with a party of fifteen hundred horse and foot from Bristol, within four miles, to relieve the town, but, coming too late, retreated.

Wednesday, July 30, the army was drawn up to Mendeepe-hills, with intention to march to Bath, but upon intelligence the horse and dragoons alone had taken the town, his excellency sent back the army to Wells, marching only with two regiments of foot to Bath (which he intended to leave there for the security of that place, and parts thereabouts). The general quartered there that night, stayed there next morning, and settled things for the safety of that place, and in the afternoon returned to Wells, leaving the two regiments at Bath.

Friday, August 1, the army marched from Wells to Queen-Camel, where the headquarter was that night, but the general himself went with a few horse to Sherborne, viewed the works and castle, and quartered there that night. And on Saturday, August 2, the general and lieutenant-general rode again to the lodge, and, upon a second view and observation, conceived the place might shortly be reduced; guards were therefore appointed nearer to it, and orders were given for all things in reference to a close siege.

This day intelligence came that the clubmen of three counties, viz. Dorset, Wilts, and Somerset, were to meet

at Shaftesbury, and that a fair opportunity would be offered for the surprisal of them, who were so disaffected to the parliament; whereupon colonel Fleetwood was commanded forth with a good party of horse to see if he could surprise them; who accordingly came seasonably, encompassed them in the town with about one thousand horse, and took about fifty of the ring-leaders, whereof Mr. Hollis, Carey, Young, Cradock, and doctor Goche were the chief, who being brought prisoners by a guard of horse, were presently dismounted and disarmed, and sent to prison, until leisure were afforded to examine them, and to consider how to dispose of them, which was done by a committee chosen on purpose four or five days after; and after the reduction of Sherborne they were sent to London with other prisoners; but we have not so done with the clubmen, or rather they with us.

Lord's day, August 3. News came this day that all the country of Wilts and Dorset, and part of Somerset, were up in arms, and would have a rendezvous of ten thousand men at least, pretending they did it to fetch off their leaders; (but privately we understood it was to interrupt our siege, and to hinder provisions from coming to the leaguer;) giving out withal, that Goring with his army was coming out of the west to raise the siege.

On Monday, August 4, lieutenant-general Cromwell, having intelligence of some of their places of rendezvous for their several divisions, went forth with a party of horse to meet with them (being well satisfied of the danger of their design). As he was marching towards Shaftesbury with the party, they discovered some colours upon the top of a high hill, full of wood, and almost inaccessible; a lieutenant with a small party was sent to them, to know their meaning, and to acquaint them

that the lieutenant-general of the army was there; whereupon Mr. Newman, one of their leaders, thought fit to come down, and told us the intent was to desire to know why the gentlemen were taken at Shaftesbury on Saturday. The lieutenant-general returned him this answer; that he held himself not bound to give him or them an account; what was done was by authority, and they that did it were not responsible to them that had none: but not to leave them wholly unsatisfied, he told him that those persons so met had been the occasions and stirrers of many tumultuous and unlawful meetings, for which they were to be tried by law, which trial ought not by them to be questioned or interrupted. Mr. Newman desired to go up to return the answer. The lieutenant-general with a small party went with him, and had some conference with the people to this purpose: that whereas they pretended to meet there to save their goods, they took a very ill course for that: to leave their houses was the way to lose their goods; and it was offered them, that justice should be done upon any who offered them violence; and as for the gentlemen taken at Shaftesbury, it was only to answer some things they were accused of, which they had done contrary to law and the peace of the kingdom. Herewith they, seeming to be well satisfied, promised to return to their houses, and accordingly did so.

These being thus quietly sent home, the lieutenant-general advanced further, to a meeting of a greater number, of about four thousand, who betook themselves to Hambleton-hill, near Shrawton. At the bottom of the hill ours met a man with a musket, and asked whither he was going; he said, To the club-army: ours asked what he meant to do: he asked what they had to do with that. Being required to lay down his arms, he said he would first lose his life, but was not so

good as his word, for though he cocked and presented his musket, he was prevented, disarmed, and wounded, but not killed. Then ours marched up the hill, which had been an old Roman work deeply trenched. The lieutenant-general sent before a lieutenant with a party of horse, to require an account of their meeting. He was answered with half a dozen shot, and could get no other answer. Thereupon one Mr. Lee, who upon the approach of ours came from them, was sent in, requiring them to submit to the power and protection of the parliament, and lay down their arms. They refused to leave their arms, and gave ours a shot as they were drawing up. The lieutenant-general, unwilling to bloodshed, sent Mr. Lee again, to tell them, that if they would not lay down their arms, he would fall upon them. They refused this third message also, through the instigation of one Mr. Bravel, minister of Compton, who told them they must stand to it now, rather than lose their arms, and that he would pistol them that gave back.

Thereupon order was given to the general's troop to fall on, who did so, and received a repulse, and some loss through the disadvantage of the place, for the clubmen shot from the bank of the old work, and kept the passage with muskets and other weapons, which was no broader than for three horse to march abreast. Upon this attempt we lost a man or two, had eight or nine wounded, six or seven horses killed. Upon this, major Desborough, with the general's regiment, went round about a ledge of the hill, and made a hard shift to climb up and enter on their rear; which they no sooner discerned, but, after a short dispute, they ran, and the passage formerly assaulted was opened, and all the clubmen dispersed and disarmed, some slain, many wounded, the rest slid and tumbled down that great

steep hill, to the hazard of their necks. There were brought away four hundred of them to Shrawton, of which near two hundred were wounded in this skirmish. Captain Paltison was sore hurt on our side, of which afterwards he died, and about twelve more. We found among them about sixteen of our men, whom they had disarmed and taken prisoners, and threatened to hang some of them; but the tables were then turned. We quartered that night at Shrawton, and kept the clubmen in the church, and with them four vicars and curates which were taken with them upon the hill; whereof Mr. Talbot of Milton was one, and Lawford of Auckford, the worst, another. There was taken about twelve colours, the motto of one of them was thus: *If you offer to plunder or take our cattle, be assured we will bid you battle.* In others of them they had sentences of scripture, profanely applied by their malignant priests, who were the principal stirrers up of the people to these tumultuous assemblies.

The next day, August 5, we took their names and examinations, who were their leaders, and what the grounds of their meeting were; which they freely discovered, and confessed that Mr. Bravel, the minister of Compton, sent out the warrants; and the intent was (as appears by a warrant from Mr. Rogers of Langton) gallantly to demand their countrymen, or to take so many prisoners as should release them, as the warrant ran. And that they had laid down their arms and submitted, had it not been for Bravel and White and Lawford; and that they sent to Wiltshire to come and join with them, whose journey is now stopped. After the examination, the lieutenant-general spake to them, giving them liberty to defend themselves against plunderings; only forbidding any such meetings, which

they protested against, and freely consented, that if any of them (whose names were in the paper) were taken again opposing the parliament, or in any such assembly, they deserved to be hanged; whereupon they were dismissed, to their very good satisfaction, and confessed they saw themselves misled by their leaders, who, by a pretence to save their goods, endangered both their goods and lives; and so ours parted with them, hoping never to meet them again upon such terms; but their leaders were extremely partial on the king's side, notwithstanding their pretended indifferences, as appeared in Bravel's activity, since he was at court with their petition, and their calling men *Roundheads* that refused to join with them; threatening no less than loss of goods and danger of life to them that would not come in to them. This work, though unhappy, was very necessary, for that the army could send neither messengers nor parties before; whereas this done, a man might ride very quietly between Sherborne and Salisbury. The influence the king had upon them was very palpable and notorious, and that they acted his very design; commissions were found under the prince's own hand, for raising regiments of clubmen, which commissions were sent up to the parliament; and that this design was to have been set on foot in other parts, yea in the associated counties, and all the parts of the kingdom, to raise a third party, (as that that the king did much rely upon, if other aid did fail,) there is but too much reason to believe; and that letters of the clubmen were found among sir Lewis Dives's papers, declaring their intention to serve the king, is no temerity to affirm, and such was the sense of the danger the kingdom and the parliament's cause was in by this third party, had it gone on as it was beginning, that to repeat it is suffi-

cient (I need not enlarge upon it) to provoke thankfulness to God for the seasonable laying of this spirit, which never afterwards appeared.

On Tuesday at night, August 5, the lieutenant-general with the party returned to Sherborne, where they found the general and the rest of the army very busy at the siege; a storm was intended, but upon second thoughts diverted; the army seeing recruits come so far below expectation, both in time and number, it behoved them to take more than ordinary care of their men, though, after all their tedious marches and desperate services, to that time the army was not much abated. That day a commanded party crept underneath the stone wall close to Sherborne-castle, and gained the hay-stack within a stone's cast of their works.

Wednesday, August 6, the enemy making a new work to plant ordnance to beat our men from the hay-stack, we beat them off that work, and dismounted their cannon, but had four captains wounded, and one slain: all things were in a preparation to storm. This day the soldiers had every one his fagot prepared; another summons was sent unto the castle to surrender the same, but a denial was returned; whereupon a council of war was called, and it was resolved, that since an whole cannon was upon the way from Portsmouth, and that from Mendeep-hills we might have excellent miners, that therefore we should proceed in approaches and batteries for the reducing of the castle, being well informed that the ground whereon it stood was minable. This day, towards evening, captain Horsey, another of colonel Rainsborough's officers, was shot dead in the place with a birding piece from one of the towers; who with captain-lieutenant Flemming of colonel Rainsborough's regiment, (who was shot before,) were the next day buried after a martial manner in the church

at Sherborne, being the place where captain Horsey's ancestors were entombed.

On Friday, August 8, the general going to see the working of the mine, (as afterwards both Saturday and Lord's day he did several times,) and the making of the gallery, escaped another great danger by his own soldiers, who encompassing some deer, shot round, and killed one of their fellows, and missed the general (as he was passing by) narrowly.

Very freely did the soldiers work in the mines and galleries, and making of batteries, every man being rewarded twelve pence apiece for the day, and as much for the night; for the service was hot and hazardous.

By Monday, August 11, the whole cannon, and the treasure for the army formerly mentioned, and then long expected by the army, came to the headquarter. This day his excellency had intelligence that major-general Massey's horse, who were quartered near Taunton, to interrupt Goring's forces in case they advanced this way, had fallen on some of Goring's horse, and taken several prisoners.

Tuesday, August 12, the Mendee miners came, and were set to work. The enemy threw fiery fagots over those parts of the wall where the miners were, and where a bridge likewise was making, (over a little rivulet,) which was in part burnt thereby, but the soldiers presently quenched it, and it was put over that night. The general, according to his wonted nobleness, sent to sir Lewis Dives, that if he pleased to send out his lady, or any other women, he would give way to it. Sir Lewis thankfully acknowledged the favour, seemed to incline to accept of it, but gave no positive answer, expressing withal his resolution (soldier-like) to hold out to the last. But under favour, it was a madness rather than valour, seeing he despaired of relief, and since that he

hath felt the misery of it by a long imprisonment in the Tower.

Wednesday, August 13, the cannon and demi-cannon were planted on the new battery, where another chief gunner of ours was slain, besides one Jenkins, another gunner, was shot from the tower. The miners wrought within two yards of the wall, where the rock appearing, we feared it would have given more interruption than it did, but it proving but a soft stone, was easily wrought through. The general and lieutenant-general were twice again this day at the works and mines, so much did they still engage their persons in the care and oversight of every such work.

Thursday, August 14, the great guns began to play about eleven of the clock, and before six had made a breach in the middle of the wall, that ten abreast might enter, and had beaten down one of the towers, which much disheartened the enemy. On this occasion the great adventurousness of many of the soldiers comes fitly to be remembered, who (whilst our cannon played hard upon the castle, and wanted shot) fetched off the bullets (that we had shot) from under the enemy's walls, and had sixpence apiece for every bullet they so brought off, which were worth as much to the service at that time. After the breach so made, such was the noble and merciful disposition of the general, that he sent a third summons to surrender the castle, or to expect extremity, which drove the governor into a great passion, (which is not hard to do,) insomuch as he said, he would hang the drum; and when the drum, delivering his message stoutly, was as he thought saucy, he told him he must have more manners in his presence, and sent an answer to this purpose; that the language was so far differing from what he had formerly received, that he could not believe that it came

from the same hand, but said, that he would not lose his honour to save his life (it may be, (as one says of him,) because his cause and carriage had already lost it); if the last were, he should think it well bestowed in the service. This day another of our gunners was shot with a birding piece. By this time our approaches were so near, that they could have no use of their muskets, only threw down stones: and this day our soldiers upon the guard (commanded then by colonel Inglesby, a gallant and well-deserving gentleman) happily gained the tower in the corner of the castle, out of which our musketeers playing into the castle, recompensed with a fatal shot one of the enemy's chief marksmen, that had so often shot out of the tower with the birding piece, and killed our men. Impatient were our men to fall on, but in regard the mine was not ready to spring, that night it was resolved to put off the storm till the next day, but in the mean time so near did our soldiers venture to the walls from the gallery, that they pulled the wool out of the woolsacks that lay on the enemy's works; which caused that strong guards were set by the enemy. This night great fires were made in the castle all night long, to discover our approaches and mines.

Friday, August 15, two in the morning, the governor having cooled his brain with a little sleep, (without any other provocation,) sent out a drummer with a message, that he was willing to surrender upon honourable terms. Answer was returned, "No terms but quarter," seeing he had slipped and slighted the opportunity, and he was not to expect that, except he rendered speedily. Immediately the general went in person to the works, and viewed the castle within, over the wall, not without great hazard; gave orders for all things to be prepared for a storm; every soldier to cut his fresh fagot, whereby

in two hours they had above six thousand fagots, with which they were to fill the trenches, and to throw stones and rubbish upon them; whilst this was in doing, our soldiers that had before gained one tower, recovered also another of their towers, and from thence proved as good marksmen as theirs were; and out of the same towers where they shot so many of our men, did good execution upon the enemy within; (sir Lewis Dives's secretary was slain by a shot from thence;) and being so happily possessed of this tower, we improved it further to the enforcing them from their guns within, which they had planted to oppose our entrance at the breach. The miners had by this time wrought quite through the foundation of the wall, and our foot played so hard from the breach, that they were forced to quit the great court within the castle. This much disheartened the enemy, and especially seeing our soldiers coming forwards so merrily with fagots on their backs to fall on, some of them, before their time appointed, leaping over the works; all which concurring, so daunted the enemy, that they fled out of one work into another, and so into the castle; which being discerned by the rest of our army, they all went over without any more ado; which so ripened the amazement of the enemy, that instantly they pulled down their bloody colours, hung out a white flag, had no power to make opposition, sent a drum for to crave quarter; but before he could get out and return, a great part of our foot were entered, they within had thrown down their arms, and cried for quarter to our soldiers, which our soldiers (inclining rather to booty than revenge) gave them, but stripped they were to the purpose; all except sir Lewis Dives and his lady, and some few more; and so we became masters of the castle, and all within it; the soldiers finding plunder of great value, the taking of

which in a disorderly manner could not then be prevented. There was taken about four hundred prisoners in the castle, besides sir Lewis Dives the governor, colonel Giles Strangeways, formerly a member of parliament, sir John Walcot, colonel Thornhill, and others of quality, and eighteen pieces of ordnance, and a mortar-piece. The reducing of this place was of the greater concernment, in regard of the influence it had upon the disaffected clubmen in those parts, who, having the countenance of this garrison, were made so much the more bold in their attempts and meetings.

The soldiers' spoil lasted all that day, and most part of the night, whose fair demeanour in the town of Sherborne during the siege deserves commendation, when, notwithstanding that about sixty townsmen who had families in the town were in the castle, and fought against them, yet not one of their houses was plundered.

On Saturday, August 16, being market-day, our soldiers, with the booty they had got, kept a great market to the country, who bought the goods of them; and all this day and the next was necessarily spent in ordering the disposal of prisoners, and in considering what to do with the garrison, which not above two or three days after was ordered to be slighted: and thus hath God led us into another stronghold of equal difficulty and consequence. In the reduction of which place, as elsewhere, the dexterity, industry, and resolution of captain Dean, comptroller of the ordnance, deserves to be had in memory.

CHAPTER IV.

The siege of Bristol, the taking of it, with the actions that intervened, viz. the taking of Nunny-castle, &c.

SHERBORNE being now, by God's blessing, reduced, a council of war was called, where the subject of the debate was, what should be the next design of the army, the west or Bristol. The reasons upon which it was endeavoured to persuade the west, were, the pursuing of our victory at Langport, the hindering of Goring from reinforcing his shattered army in Devon and Cornwall, (whereunto he might probably find the Cornish, being generally disaffected to the parliament, easily drawn, the prince being in person with them, and acting to that purpose,) the miseries of the people in the west, and the necessities of Plymouth crying for present relief; besides, it was urged on the negative of Bristol, that to go thither was to hazard the whole army, the plague being sore in the city, an hundred dying weekly, and that it was in most of the villages about the town. But on the other side it was considered, that prince Rupert being in Bristol, and able to draw into the field three thousand horse and foot, (leaving also sufficient to defend that garrison,) might, with the assistance of the ill-affected clubmen, (of whose disaffection to the parliament there was sufficient proof,) and having the advantage of sending forces and recruits out of Wales, (which were easily to be transported over Severn,) raise a considerable army in the midland parts, which might interrupt the proceedings of our army, by marching on their rear, when they were far advanced west, whereby, Goring being in the front, they might come to be enclosed between two armies, and so all intercourse with London and the eastern parts would be thereby cut off; besides, the great importance of the place, as to the enemy, Bristol being the only con-

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siderable port the king had in the whole kingdom, for shipping and trade and riches, being withal his magazine for all sort of ammunition; which should it please God to make us masters of, must needs prove sadly fatal to his affairs, and would so be judged in this and foreign kingdoms. What advantage it would be to the parliament, both in reputation and real improvements, (it being justly reckoned in the first rank of populous and rich cities in this kingdom,) was very clearly evident.

These and other like considerations being offered for the present reducing of Bristol, after long consultation and debate, it was resolved to march thither in order to the reducing of that place. After once this resolution was taken, it was said by the general, "Seeing our judgments lead us to make Bristol our next design, as the greatest service we can do for the public; as for the sickness, let us trust God with the army, who will be as ready to protect us in the siege from infection, as in the field from the bullet."

Hereupon orders were given for the army to march towards Bristol. The general resting all the next day at Sherborne, to settle the business of the county. And on Monday (after sir Lewis Dives and the prisoners, together with the club-leaders before mentioned, who were had in hold, were sent away with a guard to London) the army marched to Castle-Carew, (save that colonel Rainsborough with his own and colonel Hammond's regiments, and two pieces of ordnance, was sent to Nunney-castle, for the reducing thereof,) the rest of the army marched that night to Castle-Carew: the next day the general himself went to view Nunney-castle, and found it to be a very strong piece. The headquarter was that night at Shepton-Mallet, but five miles from Carew, far enough for the train, which

was four miles behind from the quarters the night before: but to expedite what might be this design against Bristol, and the relief of the country thereabouts, in the mean time, two thousand horse and dragoons were sent under the command of commissary-general Ireton, to preserve the towns adjacent to Bristol from plunder and firing, for the better accommodation of our quarters. The next day the army marched to Chue, nine miles, and ill way; and in relation to the straiter siege, messengers were sent to the vice-admiral, captain Moulton, riding about Milford-Haven, to send ships into Kingsroad to block up Bristol by sea, as this army intended to do by land. Some prisoners were taken by our horse near Bristol, others came in voluntarily unto us; all agreeing, said the enemy did not imagine our forces to be so near, or that we had any design upon Bristol. And by a trumpeter that came with a message from thence, they seemed to be so far from a belief thereof, that he said he did not expect to find us on that side Sherborne; and when he met our horse, he took them to be the king's (not offering to sound his trumpet, as he ought to have done). That night there was a strong party of horse and one regiment of foot disposed at Hanham, within three miles of Bristol, on Gloucestershire side, by whom the enemy was alarmed. Upon this approach of ours, the enemy fired Bedminster on Somersetshire side, and burnt it down to the ground, as also divers houses on Gloucestershire side. It was but the day before, when prince Rupert was sending out a party to relieve Berkeley-castle, which was much straitened by the Gloucester forces; but the approach of our horse under commissary Ireton diverted that design.

Thursday 21st, in the morning, to encourage us in our engagements, we received intelligence of the sur-

render of Nunney-castle to colonel Rainsborough, upon condition to have liberty to go to their own houses. By reason of the train coming in so late, the army rested that day at Chue, save that another party of horse and foot advanced towards Bedminster, upon intelligence that the prince intended to break through with his horse, and join with Goring; with which party the general and lieutenant-general went, viewed the town, and appointed guards and quarters on the west side the river, and quartered himself at Keinsome that night, where divers lords sent for passes to come out of the city and go beyond sea; but upon good reason were denied, it being a received opinion, that persons of quality and great estate, in a besieged town, would rather incline to a timely yielding than hazardous defending thereof, when no relief is at hand.

Friday the 22nd, there was a general rendezvous of horse, and all that day was spent in settling of guards on Somersetshire side, where the countrymen maintained a passage at Clifton, the headquarter that night being removed to Hanham.

Saturday 23rd, the general and lieutenant-general employed the whole day in the settling of quarters and guards on the other side of Bristol. This day the enemy's cannon played from the great fort and Prior's fort, but hurt none but one dragoon, who had his thigh shot off. The enemy sallied out also with a party of horse, but were beaten in again, where sir Richard Crane was mortally wounded, who presently after died of his wounds. The headquarter this night was removed to Stapleton.

Lord's day, August 24, the enemy about noon sallied out again at the sallyport near Prior-hill fort, in a full career, and were upon our dragoons on the sudden, yet, by our horse coming on, were beaten back again, as also

their foot were, by the foot of colonel Rainsborough's brigade, made to retreat in disorder, and worse than they came forth, by the loss of a major and some others.

Monday 25th, warrants were issued out by the general to sir John Horner, high-sheriff of the county of Somerset, to raise the power of the county, which was much promoted by the interest and endeavours of Mr. Ash and Mr. Moore, two worthy members of the house of commons. This day the army had intelligence that Goring, then about Collumpton in Devon, did seem to draw to a rendezvous, as if he intended a march to interrupt our siege. But major-general Massey's brigade of horse were quartered not far from Taunton in such an advantageous posture, that the enemy could not move but he might flank them and interrupt their motion, whilst our horse might draw off to meet them, in case they should attempt the forementioned design.

Tuesday 26th, four in the morning, the enemy made a third sally on Somersetshire side on a post of colonel Welden's brigade at Bedminster; and, through the negligence of the officer that had then the command there, they took ten and killed as many: towards a recompense of which affront, the same day, captain Molleneux, a very valiant man, (captain-lieutenant to colonel Butler,) and with him another stout soldier, perceiving three gallant cavaliers under their works, (whom afterwards they found to be sir Bernard Ashley, colonel Daniel, and a third man,) rode up to them, asked them who they were for; they swore, "God damn them, for the king," and shot at ours; whereupon our men discharged their pistols at them, wounded them, and after some bickering took sir Bernard Ashley, who died within few days of his wounds; but colonel

Daniel, though dangerously wounded, escaped from them.

Wednesday 27th, the enemy drew out the fourth time about the close of the evening, with intention to fall on our guards; which ours perceiving, (and they understanding that they were privy to their intention,) they drew back to their works. All this night the general and lieutenant-general were abroad upon the field, to be in readiness if any alarm should happen.

Thursday 28th, Rupert sent out those foot of ours, which were taken prisoners on Somersetshire side, being in number ten, with a trumpet, propounding also an exchange for sir Bernard Ashley; but the exchange was not hearkened to. This day we had intelligence of the king's plundering of Huntingdon, and the cruel usage of the people by his forces in those parts, having unhappily escaped the Scotch and northern horse out of Nottinghamshire. Meanwhile, as an earnest of the whole, the fort at Portshead point, that had been four days besieged by lieutenant-colonel Kempson, of colonel Welden's regiment, with a party of foot, was with six pieces of ordnance this day surrendered unto him, who managed that business with much judgment and resolution; by the taking whereof the passage into Kingsroad with our ships was made open.

Friday 29th, a fast was kept through the army, to seek God for a blessing upon the designs against Bristol: Mr. Del and Mr. Peters kept the day at the headquarter. The enemy endeavoured to interrupt us by a sally about noon-time upon our quarters near Lawford's-gate, where he took three or four soldiers. After the public exercises, a council of war was called, and it being agreed, in the first place, to punish the vices of the army, it was propounded whether to storm Bristol or not. The debate was long, opinions various; however

it was agreed that all things should be prepared in order to a storm, and afterwards to take into further consideration whether to storm or to intrench the leaguer. In the midst of these thoughts and resolutions, tidings were brought the army of the defeat given by Montrose to our brethren the Scots, and that he was marched to Edinburgh in pursuit thereof, and that the king was now advanced to Bedford unfollowed, and was expected speedily to raise the siege at Bristol; and this day towards evening the intelligence was confirmed by letters from the committee of both kingdoms of the king's speedy march towards Oxford, and probably to these parts. At the same time his excellency had intelligence that Goring in the west advanced his quarters nearer Chard, and, as it was verily thought, intended a conjunction with the king.

And now was the army in a great strait, the whole strength thereof being but sufficient, and scarce that, for its present undertaking before Bristol, utterly unable to check the enemy's conjunction, or attend their motions at any distance from the leaguer: and though the further proceeding with the siege of Bristol in this conjuncture of affairs seemed very hazardous, yet resolving to abide the utmost, and not to give it over upon great looks, we put ourselves into the best condition we could to receive them, in case either or both should attempt us.

Lord's day, August 31, captain Moulton, admiral for the Irish coasts, (who was now come into Severn,) came from aboard his ship to the general; expressed much readiness to assist in the storming of the city (if it were so determined) with his seamen. A debate was then had concerning the storming of Bristol, and what might be done by water with the assistance of the seamen. Goring's letters from Exeter to secretary

Nicholas bearing date August 25, were this day intercepted; wherein he writes, that in three weeks' time he will be ready to interrupt Fairfax in his siege before Bristol.

Monday, September 1, the weather wet and misty, about twelve at noon, prince Rupert, with one thousand horse and six hundred foot, sallied out the sixth time in a full career, and came upon our horseguards with much fierceness; but the horse instantly came up, and, with the assistance of the foot of colonel Rainsborough's brigade, forced them to as hasty a retreat. We lost in that skirmish captain Guilliams, a captain of horse, a valiant, faithful, and religious man; besides that, colonel Okey, colonel of dragoons, (it being in the mist,) fell amongst the enemy unawares, and by that accident was taken prisoner. At that time further advertisements confirmed our former hints of the king's advance from Oxford towards Bristol. Orders were given for all the colonels to view the line and works, and for our soldiers to make fagots, and all fitting preparations for a storm.

Tuesday, September 2, a council of war being called, and all the colonels present, after a long debate whether to storm Bristol or no, it was put to the question, and resolved in the affirmative; and for the manner of the storm it was referred to a committee of the colonels of the army, to present in writing to the general the next morning, to be debated at a general council of war. Accordingly, Wednesday September 3, the manner of the storm was presented in writing to the general, which was to be after this manner: colonel Welden with his brigade, consisting of the four regiments that were at Taunton, (viz. his own, colonel Inglesby's, colonel Fortescue's, and colonel Herbert's regiments, whose posts were to make good Somerset-

shire side,) was ordered to storm in three places, viz. two hundred men in the middle, two hundred on each side, as forlorn hopes, to begin the storm; twenty ladders to each place, two men to carry each ladder, and to have 5s. apiece; two sergeants, that attended the service of the ladder, to have 20s. a man; each musketeer that followed the ladder to carry a fagot, a sergeant to command them, and to have the same reward; twelve files of men with firearms and pikes to follow the ladders to each place where the storm was to be; those to be commanded each by a captain and a lieutenant; the lieutenant to go before with five files, the captain to second him with the other seven files; the two hundred men that were appointed to second the storm to furnish each party of them twenty pioneers, who were to march in their rear; the two hundred men, each to be commanded by a field-officer, and the pioneers each by a sergeant; (those pioneers were to throw down the line, and make way for the horse;) the party that was to make good the line, to possess the guns and turn them; a gentleman of the ordnance, gunners and matrosses, to enter with the parties; the drawbridge to be let down; two regiments and a half to storm in after the foot, if way were made. Much after this manner was the general's brigade under colonel Montague's command, consisting of the general's, colonel Montague's, colonel Pickering's, and sir Hardress Waller's regiments, to storm on both sides of Lawford's-gate, both to the river Avon and the lesser river Froom; the bridge over Froom to be made good against horse with pikes, or to break it down. Colonel Rainsborough's brigade, consisting of his own, major-general Skippon's, colonel Hammond's, colonel Birch's, and lieutenant-colonel Pride's regiments, to storm on this side the river Froom, beginning on the right hand

of the sallyport up to Prior's-hill fort, and to storm the fort itself as the main business: two hundred of this brigade to go up in boats with the seamen to storm Waterfort (if it were to be attempted). One regiment of horse and a regiment of foot to be moving up and down in the closes before the royal fort, and to ply hard upon it to alarm it, with a field-officer to command them. The regiment of dragoons, with two regiments of horse, to carry ladders with them, and to attempt the line and works by Clifton and Washington's breach.

The manner of the storm being thus agreed on, (though it is probable some more certain information might change the attempts from one place to another,) the soldiers were drawn out to try their inclination, than in whom more courage, joy, and resolution could not appear in men. The general, to make good his promise to reward them for the service of Bridgewater, ordered them immediately to receive 6s. a man, which by the care of the commissioners of parliament was forthwith paid unto them; which put a great obligation upon the soldiers.

At this council of war it was also agreed that a letter should be written, and subscribed by the general and all the officers, to general Leven, to express how sensible they were of the losses their forces had received in Scotland by Montrose; and their willingness to serve them, if need were, for the settling of their nation in peace, so soon as the condition of this kingdom could spare them. The copy of which letter followeth in these words:

May it please your excellency, and the rest, honoured friends, and beloved brethren;

We have, not without much grief, received the sad report of your affairs in Scotland; how far God, for his best and

secret ends, hath been pleased to suffer the enemy to prevail there: and are (we speak unfeignedly) not less sensible of your evils than you have been and are of ours, nor than we are of our own. And the greater cause of sympathy have we with you, and the more do our bowels yearn towards you, because whatever you now suffer yourselves in your own kingdom are chiefly occasioned by your assisting us in ours against the power that was risen up against the Lord himself and his anointed ones. Wherefore we cannot forget your labour of love, but thought good at this season, even amongst our many occasions, to let you know, that when the affairs of this kingdom will possibly dispense with us, the parliament allowing, and you accepting of our assistance; we shall be most willing, if need so require, to help and serve you faithfully in your own kingdom, and to engage ourselves to suppress the enemy there, and to establish you again in peace. In the mean time we shall endeavour to help you by our prayers, and to wrestle with God for one blessing of God upon both nations; between whom, besides many other strong relations and engagements, we hope the *unity of spirit* shall be the surest *bond of peace*. And this, whatever suggestions or jealousies may have been to the contrary, we desire you would believe, as you shall ever really find to proceed from integrity of heart, a sense of your sufferings, and a full purpose to answer any call of God to your assistance; as become

Your Christian friends and servants in the Lord,

Thomas Fairfax.
Oliver Cromwell.
Thomas Hammond.
Henry Ireton.
Edward Montague.
Richard Fortescue.
Richard Inglesby.
John Pickering.
Hardress Waller.
William Herbert.
Robert Hammond.
James Gray.
Thomas Pride.

Robert Pye.
Thomas Rainsborough.
Thomas Sheffield.
Charles Fleetwood.
Ralph Welden.
John Raymond.
Leon Wattson.
Arthur Evelin.
Richard Dean.
Thomas Jackson.
John Desborough.
Christopher Bethel.

The report concerning the storm being made unto the council of war, and fully agreed unto, the cannon baskets were ordered to be filled, seamen and boats sent for.

Thursday, September 4, the weather that had been so extreme wet before, that many soldiers and horses died thereby (and with extreme hard duty) in that wet season, began to alter, to the great reviving of the drooping soldier. Our great guns played this day from off the new battery against Prior's fort. Summons was also prepared to be sent to prince Rupert; and being agreed unto, was sent in accordingly, which runs in these words:

For his highness prince Rupert.

Sir;—for the service of the parliament, I have brought their army before the city of Bristol, and do summon you in their names to render it, with all the forts belonging to the same, into my hands, for their use.

Having used this plain language, as the business requires, I wish it may be as effectual unto you as it is satisfactory to myself, that I do a little expostulate with you about the surrender of the same, which I confess is a way not common, and which I should not have used, but in respect to such a person and to such a place. I take into consideration your royal birth and relation to the crown of England, your honour, courage, the virtues of your person, and the strength of that place which you may think yourself bound and able to maintain.

Sir, the crown of England is and will be where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there. But the king, misled by evil councillors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his parliament, under God the best assurance of his crown and family: the maintaining of this schism is the ground of this unhappy war on your part: and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom jointly, a principal part whereof is, that the king in supreme acts is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice, but by his parliament, the great council of the kingdom, in whom (as much

as man is capable of) he hears all his people, as it were, at once advising him, and in which multitude of councillors lies his safety and his people's interest, and to see him right in this, hath been the constant and faithful endeavour of the parliament; and to bring these wicked instruments to justice that have misled him, is a principal ground of our fighting.

Sir, if God makes this clear to you, as he hath to us, I doubt not but he will give you a heart to deliver this place, notwithstanding all the other considerations of honour, courage, fidelity, &c., because of their constancy and use in the present business depends upon the right or wrongfulness of this that hath been said. And if upon such conviction you shall surrender it, and save the loss of blood, or hazard the spoiling of such a city; it would be an occasion glorious in itself and joyful to us, for restoring of you to the endeared affection to the parliament and people of England, the truest friend to your family it hath in this world.

But if this be hid from your eyes, and, through your wilfulness, this so great, so famous, and ancient a city, and so full of people, be, by your putting us to force the same, exposed to ruin and the extremities of war, (which we yet shall in that case, as much as possible, endeavour to prevent,) then I appeal to the righteous God to be judge between you and us, and to require [requite] the wrong. And let all England judge whether the burning of its towns, ruining its cities, and destroying its people, be a good requital from a person of your family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purses, and blood of its parliament and people. And (if you look on either as now divided) hath ever had that same party, both in parliaments and amongst the people, most zealous for their assistance and restitution, which you now oppose and seek to destroy, and whose constant grief hath been, their desires to serve your family have been ever hindered or made fruitless by that same party about his majesty, whose counsel you act, and whose interest you pursue in this unnatural war.

I expect your speedy answer to this summons, with the return of the bearer this evening, and remain

Your highness's humble servant,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

This day, about two thousand well-affected countrymen, who with many more, upon treaty with the lieutenant-general at the beginning of the siege, had engaged their assistance to make good the same, marched with some thirty-six colours in the face of Bristol, had quarters assigned them, and kept guards. Two pieces of ordnance also were sent unto them for their encouragement; it not a little grieving the enemy within to see the forwardness of the country to come to our assistance; for which reason (and to lay an effectual caution against their revolt) it was held fit to make use of those forces from the country, rather than for any considerable service could be expected from them.

The trumpeter that went in with the summons was detained all night, during which space no sally was made by the enemy, nor no alarm given by us. Only the seamen and their boats coming up the river to St. Vincent's rock, was all the motion this day produced. Neither upon Friday, September 5, was there any sallying out, but all was quiet on both sides; and the trumpeter returned from prince Rupert with an answer to the general's summons, in these words:

Sir, I received yours by your trumpeter. I desire to know whether you will give me leave to send a messenger to the king, to know his pleasure in it. I rest,

Your servant, RUPERT.

Saturday, September 6, a trumpeter was sent in with a reply to prince Rupert's answer, in these words:

Sir, your overture of sending to the king, to know his pleasure, I cannot give way to, because of delay. I confess your answer doth intimate your intention not to surrender without his majesty's consent: yet because it is but implicit, I send again to know a more positive answer from yourself, which I

desire may be such as may render me capable of approving myself

Your highness' humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

This day came twelve colours more of the well-affected countrymen, as an addition to the former forces.

The trumpeter was detained all that day and night: every thing was prepared for a storm; the general was in the field to that end; the soldiers had their fagots on their backs, and leaped for joy they might go on; yet about ten at night, for several reasons, it was held fit to give orders to put off the business till Monday morning two of the clock; and only to alarm the enemy for that time, as we did often, to amuse them, and keep them waking.

Lord's day, Septemb. 7, in the forenoon, the trumpet returned with these propositions from prince Rupert:

Sir, whereas I received your letter for the delivery of the city, forts, and castle of Bristol; and being willing to join with you for the sparing of blood, and the preserving of his majesty's subjects, I have, upon those grounds, and none other, sent you these following propositions:

First, that myself, all noblemen, commanders and soldiers of horse and foot, that have served either his majesty or parliament in England or elsewhere; as likewise all persons whatsoever, men or women, now resident in this city of Bristol, castle and forts thereof, shall have free liberty to march away out of the said city, castle, and forts, with their arms, flying colours, drums beating, trumpets sounding, pistols cocked, swords drawn, matches lighted at both ends, and as much powder and match as they can carry about them, with all their bag and baggage, horses, arms, and other furniture, ten pieces of cannon, fifty barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable.

2. That neither mine own person, nor the person of any nobleman, commander, officer, gentleman, or soldier, or any

other of mine or their retinues, be searched, molested, or troubled upon what pretence soever, but left to their liberties to depart or stay, as it shall be most convenient for them.

3. That none of your army whatsoever shall entice or persuade any officer or soldier of mine from their regiments or colours, with any promise of preferment or reward.

4. That all such officers and soldiers that are hurt and sick, and cannot now march out of this city, castle, and fort, shall have liberty to stay till they be recovered, and then have safe conducts to go wheresoever they please, either to any of his majesty's armies or garrisons, or their own houses, where they may live quiet; and that in the interim, those being sick and hurt, may be protected by you, and have civil usage.

5. All prisoners taken on both sides since the beginning of this siege be forthwith set at liberty.

6. That myself, and all those above mentioned, may not be required to march further in a day than what conveniently we may; and that a day or two of rest be allowed upon our march, if we shall find it requisite; and that we be accommodated with free quarter during our march, and a sufficient convoy to any of the king's armies or garrisons which I shall name, to secure us in our march from all injury or incivility that shall any ways be offered to us. And likewise that there be one hundred and fifty carriage-horses, and forty wains, with sufficient teams provided for carriages of all sorts.

7. That no person here in these articles mentioned shall be in their march, rendezvous, or quarters, searched or plundered upon any pretence whatsoever: and that two officers be appointed by you, the one for accommodation for free-quarters for officers, soldiers, and others, and the other for providing of horses and carriages for our baggage and train.

8. All noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, citizens, residents, or any other person within this city, suburbs, and liberties thereof, shall at any time, when they please, have free liberty to remove themselves, their goods and families, and to dispose of them at their pleasures, according to the known and enacted laws of the land, either to live at their own houses or elsewhere; and to enjoy their houses, lands, goods, and estates, without any molestation, and to have protection for that pur-

pose; and this article to extend to all those whose estates are sequestered or not sequestered, and that they may rest quiet at their abodes, and travel freely and safely upon their occasions. And for their better removal, they may have letters of safe-conduct, with horses and carriages at reasonable rates, upon demand.

9. That all persons above mentioned may have free liberty to pass to any part beyond the seas, any time within three months, as their occasions shall require.

10. That the lines, forts, castle, and other fortifications about or in the city of Bristol, be forthwith slighted, and the city stated in the same condition it was before the beginning of this unnatural war: and that hereafter the parliament during this war place no garrison in it.

11. That no churches be defaced: that the several members of the foundation of this cathedral shall quietly enjoy their houses and revenues belonging to their places, and that the ministers of this city may likewise enjoy their benefices without trouble.

12. That no oaths be imposed upon any person now in this city, suburbs, and liberties, other than are required by the ancient and enacted laws of the land.

13. That the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and citizens within this corporation of the city of Bristol shall be free in their persons and estates, and enjoy all their privileges, liberties, and immunities in as full and ample manner as formerly at any time they did before the beginning of this war, and that they shall have freedom of trade both by land and sea, paying such duties and customs as formerly they have done to his majesty: and that no mulct of fine be imposed upon any person mentioned in this article, upon any pretence whatsoever, or questioned for any act or thing done or committed before the day of our marching forth. That no free-quarters shall be put upon them without their own consents.

14. That all other persons, whose dwellings are in this city, and now absent, may have the full benefit of these articles, as if they were present.

15. That all noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that have goods in this city, and are now present or absent, may have

liberty at any time within three months to dispose of their goods as they please.

16. That there be no plundering or taking away of any man's person, or any part of his estate, under what pretence soever; and that justice, according to the known laws of the land, be administered to all persons within this city by the civil magistrate.

And for the performance of these articles, I expect such hostages to be given as I shall accept of; and hereunto I desire your speedy answer.

Sir, by this you may evidently perceive my inclination to peace, and you may be assured that I shall never desire any thing more than the honour of the king and safety of the kingdom, and that I may become, sir,

Your servant,

RUPERT.

To which propositions the general returned this answer:

Sir, I have perused your propositions, wherein some things are doubtfully expressed; other things inconsistent with the duty I owe to them I serve. Notwithstanding, to the end I may give assurance that I earnestly desire to save effusion of blood, and the ruin of a city and people that may in time be so serviceable to the crown and kingdom; if it please your highness that commissioners may treat between us, concerning the accommodating of things; I hope to make it evident to the world, that what shall respect the honour of a soldier, due civility to all men, the good and welfare of the people of that city, both in passing by what is past, and restoring them to the privileges of all other subjects, and to the immunities of their city, will readily be condescended unto by me: and to the end no time may be lost, I have here enclosed sent you the names of commissioners, who, upon the return of hostages, of equal condition, unto me, shall attend your highness, sufficiently instructed to conclude on my part; provided the said treaty be ended by nine of the clock this night. And to this I desire your answer within the space of an hour, and remain

Your highness's humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

This answer being returned presently after dinner by the same trumpeter, he was detained till eight at night; and then he brought this answer from the prince, or to this effect, in writing:

That he hoped his propositions had been such as needed no explanation; yet because some doubts were made, he was willing to have the exceptions set down in writing, and his highness would return answer.

Monday, September 8, the general returned a particular answer to every article; which as to the soldiery was very honourable, and could not but be very acceptable to the citizens; for the offer was most fair to the citizens to oblige them to us, in case the conditions offered them were but known to them, as we hoped they would. However, we had used means by our spies to convey the same to them.

In the interim all things were prepared for the storm, every commander viewing his posts: the trumpet was detained beyond the time appointed, yet afterwards returned with a denial, but not positive. That night was appointed for the army to fall on, but upon better consideration it was held fit to put it off to another day, and only to alarm the enemy.

Tuesday, September 9, the trumpet was sent in again to let the prince know, that if he did not immediately accept what was offered, all that had passed should be as no treaty, requiring the trumpet to return by twelve of the clock, but, notwithstanding, he was detained till ten at night, and then returned with an unsatisfactory answer. Whereupon all things on our part were put in readiness for a storm. At twelve of the clock in the night the general went into the field to give order about the drawing out of our men, and managing the storm for the next morning.

The enemy being left inexcusable for refusing such

honourable conditions as were offered, the whole army, horse and foot, being set in a posture round the city, to fall on about two in the morning, September 10, the signal was given to fall on at one instant round the city and works, which was by setting on fire a great heap of straw and fagots on the top of an hill, and the shooting off four great guns against Priors-fort, from the place where the general was to reside all the time of the storm, which being accordingly given, immediately the storm began round the city, and was terrible to the beholders. Colonel Montague and colonel Pickering with their regiments at Lawford's-gate entered speedily, and recovered twenty-two great guns, and took many prisoners in the works, major Desborough advancing with the horse after them, having the command of the general's regiment, and part of colonel Graves's. Sir Hardress Waller's and the general's regiments, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Jackson, entered between Lawford's-gate and the river Froom; colonel Rainsborough and colonel Hammond's regiments entered near Priors-fort; major-general Skippon's and colonel Birch's entered nearer to the river Froom; and the regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Pride was divided; part assigned to the service of Priors-fort, and the rest to alarm the great fort, and afterwards they took a little fort of Welchmen. The seamen, that were at first designed to storm by water, (the tide failing,) assisted in storming the line and works. The horse that entered here, (besides the forlorn hope,) so valiantly led on by captain Ireton, were in several parties commanded by major Bethel, major Alford, and adjutant-general Flemming, being of colonel Whaley's, colonel Rich's, and part of colonel Graves's regiments. And after the line was broke down with the pioneers, and a gap made in the same,

our horse with undaunted courage entered, and within the line met with a party of the enemy's horse, put them to a retreat, mortally wounded colonel Taylor, (formerly a member of the house of commons,) of which wounds he died, and took divers prisoners. This so disheartened their horse, (perceiving withal our foot to be master of the line, and their men beaten off,) that they never came on again to give one charge; but retreated, and stood in a body, under the favour of the great fort and Coulston's-fort. In the mean while Priors-hill-fort very obstinately held out, playing fiercely with great and small shot upon our men for two hours after the line was entered; our men all that time in like manner plying them hard with musket-shot in at the portholes, until they brought up ladders to the fort; but it being an high work, many of the ladders proved too short, through which fault some that got up were beaten down again. Notwithstanding, this disheartened them not, but up they went again upon greatest danger and disadvantage; some at last creeping in at the portholes, and others got on the top of the works; captain Lagoe, of lieutenant-colonel Pride's regiment, being the first man that laid hold on the colours; and in the end we forced the enemy within to run below into the inner rooms of the work, hoping to receive quarter; but our soldiers were so little prepared for to show mercy, by the opposition that they met withal in the storm, and the refusal of quarter when it was offered, that they put to the sword the commander, (one major Price, a Welchman,) and almost all the officers, soldiers, and others in the fort, except a very few, which, at the entreaty of some of our officers, had their lives spared. By that time the fort was gained the day began to break. And most happy it was that the storm began so timely, for otherwise

had the enemy had daylight when we first entered, we could not have stood upon any ground to have attempted Priors-hill-fort, in regard the great fort, and Coulston's-fort on the one side, and the castle on the other side, might have cut off our men as fast as they had been drawn up, but, being in the dark, they durst not shoot, for fear of killing their own men; their horse (during the storm) being drawn in a body between the great fort and Coulston's-fort. But in the mean time the success on Somersetshire side was not answerable unto this on this side, our forces there being put to a retreat, though they went on with much courage. The works on that side were so high that the ladders could not near reach them, and the approach unto the line of great disadvantage. The horse designed to enter the line, in case it had pleased God to give us here also success, where lieutenant-general Cromwell's regiment, commanded by major Huntington, colonel sir Robert Pye's, and colonel Sheffield's, both which colonels in person attended the storm, being impatient, they had not fair opportunity of entering the line, such was their zeal to the service. And lest, during the storm, the prince (in case he see the town like to be lost) should endeavour to escape with his horse; to prevent the same, commissary-general Ireton's, colonel Butler's, and colonel Fleetwood's regiments of horse were appointed to be in a moving body upon Durdam Down; that place being the most open way, and most likely for the prince to escape by: besides part of those horse did alarm that side of the line and great fort towards Durdam Down and Clifton during the storm, as likewise to secure the foot. Colonel Okey's dragoons alarming Brandol-hill-fort and the line towards Clifton.

About four hours after the taking Priors-hill-fort, a trumpeter came from the prince to desire a parley,

which there was reason enough to refuse: but considering the enemy had fired the city in several places, insomuch as it was probable the whole city would have been consumed if the fire had gone on, the general sent the prince word that he would embrace a parley, provided he caused the fire to be quenched immediately; which was done accordingly; and so the treaty proceeded on, and by seven at night it was concluded of according to these articles:

That his highness prince Rupert, and all noblemen, officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, and all other persons whatsoever, now residing in the city of Bristol and castle and forts thereof, shall march out of the said city, castle, and forts thereof, with colours, pikes, and drums, bag and baggage. The prince his highness, all noblemen, gentlemen, and officers in commission, with their horse and arms, and their servants with their horses and swords, and common soldiers with their swords; the prince's lifeguard of horse, with their horse and arms, and two hundred and fifty horse besides, to be disposed by the prince, and his lifeguard of firelocks with their arms, and each of them one pound of powder, and a proportion of bullet; and that none of the persons who are to march out on this article shall be plundered, searched, or molested.

That such officers and soldiers as shall be left sick or wounded in the city, castle, or forts, shall have liberty to stay till their recovery, and then have safe-conducts to go to his majesty, and in the interim to be protected.

That the persons above mentioned, who are to march away, shall have a sufficient convoy provided for them to any such garrison of the king's as the prince shall name, not exceeding fifty miles from Bristol; and shall have eight days allowed for their march thither, and shall have free quarter by the way, and shall have two officers to attend them for their accommodation, and twenty wagons for their baggage, if they shall have occasion to use the same.

That all the citizens of Bristol, and all noblemen, gentlemen, clergymen, and all other persons residing in the said city and

suburbs of the same, shall be saved from all plunder and violence, and be secured in their persons and estates from the violence of the soldier, and shall enjoy those rights and privileges which other subjects enjoy under protection and obedience to the parliament.

That in consideration thereof, the city of Bristol, with the castle, and all other forts and fortifications thereof, and all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and all other furniture and provisions of war, excepting what is before allowed, shall be delivered up to sir Thomas Fairfax to morrow, being Thursday the 11th day of this instant September, by one of the clock in the afternoon, without any diminution or embezzlement. His highness prince Rupert then naming to what army or garrison of the king's he will march.

That none of the persons who are to march out on this agreement shall plunder, hurt, or spoil the town, or any person in it, or carry any thing but what is properly their own.

That upon signing these articles, colonel Okey, and all persons now in prison in the city of Bristol, the castle or forts of the same, shall immediately be set at liberty.

That sufficient hostages be given to sir Thomas Fairfax, such as he shall approve, this night, who are to remain with him until the city be delivered.

That neither the convoy nor officers sent with the prince shall receive any injury in their going or coming back, and shall have seven days' allowance for their return.

That upon the delivering of the town, sufficient hostages be given for the performance of the articles on both parts.

Signed by us the commissioners on the behalf of his highness prince Rupert;

JOHN MYNNE. W. TILLYER. W. VALVASOUR.

Signed by us the commissioners appointed on the behalf of his excellency sir Tho. Fairfax;

EDW. MONTAGUE. THO. RAINSBOROUGH. JOHN PICKERING.

That which moved the general to give such favourable conditions was, merely the preservation of the city, which otherwise would have been consumed by

fire, if the enemy had been driven to a desperate condition.

God, to show the watchfulness of his providence over the general and lieutenant-general, brought them into some danger, and delivered them out of the same graciously, during the time of the parley. For while they were both sitting on the top of Priors-hill-fort, a piece of ordnance was shot thither from the castle, and the bullet grazed upon the fort within two hands' breadth of them, but did them no hurt at all.

This day, the well-affected countrymen of Gloucestershire, to the number of about three thousand, with some thirty colours, appeared, expressing great forwardness to serve the parliament; but the service being over, they returned to their own homes.

In this storm we lost several officers, both of horse and foot, and had many wounded. Major Bethel was shot at entering the line, whom I have never occasion to mention but greatly to his honour: of this wound he shortly after died. Captain Ireton, who led on the forlorn hope at the storm, was shot with a brace of bullets in the arm, (and it broken thereby,) but after enduring great torture and pain for many months, he is, through God's blessing, happily recovered. Major Cromwell, a valiant and discreet gentleman, (major to colonel Inglesby,) was wounded in the storm, whereof he afterwards died. Lieutenant-colonel Purefoy, of colonel Fortescue's regiment, a very stout man, was slain upon the place. Captain Hill, of sir Hardress Waller's regiment, slain at the storm. Major Reade, colonel Inglesby's brother, and divers other officers, wounded.

Thursday, September 11, the prince, according to the articles, marched out of the great fort, as also many ladies and persons of quality, who had convoys ap-

pointed them according to agreement. In the prince's marching out, the general himself attended him about two miles. The prince, after he was out of the fort, declared which way he intended to go, and propounded Oxford; whither, accordingly, he and all his company were safely convoyed. And because he feared the rising of the clubmen upon him, and not being secure enough in his convoy as he conceived, he desired the general to let him have one thousand arms for his foot, engaging himself upon his honour they should injure no man therewith, only to make use of them, (if need were,) to keep themselves from the violence of the people, and to return them back again; which accordingly was allowed him, and so many as kept their arms restored them again. But the greatest part of them in their march running away, many of the arms were lost. Divers persons of quality that were in the town desired liberty to stay a while longer, till they could provide themselves with horses and necessaries to march away; which civility the general did not deny them.

A great appearance there was of the country to see the marching away of the prince, and extremely cried they out against the prince, *Give him no quarter, give him no quarter.*

The goodness of God to the army during this siege, in preserving them from the sickness, was very remarkable. For when the army was resolved to march from Sherborne to Bristol, one main objection there against it at that time was, lest the plague should be thereby brought into the army; but, every man's conscience and judgment being satisfied that the design was good, and most for the advantage of the public, and feasible in their opinion, they resolved to trust God what he would do with them, as to the sickness that was much spread in those parts. And whereas, when the army

came before Bristol, as likewise for many weeks before, there died within the city above an hundred a week of the sickness, nor could we quarter our forces in any town or village but the sickness was in it; yet during all this time not one officer or soldier in our army died of the plague, that we could hear of, but one.

What ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions we found in the forts, city, and castle, I shall give you in the words of lieutenant-general Cromwell's letter to the speaker of the house of commons; wherein also the reader may find, not only a confirmation, but an amplification of this story, by some other particulars not yet mentioned; which letter followeth:

It hath pleased the general to give me in charge to represent unto you a particular account of the taking of Bristol, the which I gladly undertake.

After the finishing of that service at Sherborne, it was disputed at a council of war, whether we should march into the west or to Bristol. Amongst other arguments, the leaving so considerable an enemy at our backs, to march into the heart of the kingdom; the undoing of the country about Bristol, which was exceedingly harassed by the prince, his being but a fortnight thereabouts; the correspondence he might hold in Wales; the possibility of uniting the enemy's forces where they pleased; and especially the drawing to an head the disaffected clubmen of Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset, when once our backs were towards them:

These considerations, together with the taking of so important a place, so advantageous for the opening of trade to London, did sway the balance, and beget that conclusion. When we came within four miles of the city, we had a new debate, whether we should endeavour to block it up, or make a regular siege. The latter being overruled, colonel Welden with his brigade marched to Pile-hill, on the south side of the city, being within musket shot thereof, where in a few days they made a good quarter, overlooking the city. Upon our advance, the enemy fired Bedminster, Clifton, and some

other villages lying near to the city^d, and would have fired more, if our unexpected coming had not hindered. The general caused some horse and dragoons, under commissary-general Ireton, to advance over Avon, to keep in the enemy on the north side of the town, until the foot could come up. And after a day, the general, with colonel Montague's and colonel Rainsborough's brigades, marched over at Kensham to Stapleton, where he quartered that night. The next day, colonel Montague, (having his post assigned,) with his brigade, was to secure all between the rivers Froom and Avon: he came up to Lawford's-gate within musket shot thereof. Colonel Rainsborough's post was near to Durdam Down, where the dragoons and three regiments of horse made good a post upon the Down, between him and the river Avon, on his right hand, and from colonel Rainsborough's quarters to Froom river on his left. A part of colonel Birch and major-general Skippon's regiment were to maintain that post. These posts thus settled, our horse were forced to be upon exceeding great duty, to stand by the foot, lest the foot, being so weak in all their posts, might receive an affront. And truly herein we were very happy, that we should receive so little loss by sallies, considering the paucity of our men to make good the posts, and the strength of the enemy within. By sallies, (which were three or four,) I know not that we lost thirty men in all the time of our siege. Of officers of quality, only colonel Okey was taken, by mistake, going to the enemy, thinking they had been friends; and captain Guilliams slain in a charge. We took sir Bernard Astley, and killed sir Richard Crane (one very considerable with the prince). We had a council of war, concerning the storming of the town, about eight days before we took it; and in that there appeared great unwillingness to the work, through the unseasonableness of the weather, and other apparent difficulties. Some inducements to bring us thither was the report of the good affection of the townsmen to us, but that did not answer expectation. Upon a second consideration, it was overruled for a storm; which no sooner concluded, but difficulties were re-

^d Which they did purposely to disaccommodate the army in point of quarter.

moved, and all things seemed to favour the design. And truly, there hath been seldom the like cheerfulness to any work like to this, after it was once resolved on. The day and hour of our storm was appointed to be Wednesday morning the 10th, about one of the clock. We chose to act it so early, because we hoped thereby to surprise the enemy; with this resolution also, to avoid confusion, and falling foul one upon another, that when we had recovered the line and forts upon it, we could not advance further until day. The general's signal unto storm was, the firing of straw, and discharging four pieces of cannon at Priors-hill-fort: the signal was very well perceived of all, and truly the men went on with great resolution, and very presently recovered the line, making way for the horse to enter. Colonel Montague and colonel Pickering, who stormed at Lawford's-gate, where was a double work, well filled with men and cannon, presently entered, and with great resolution beat the enemy from their works, and possessed their cannon: their expedition was such, that they forced the enemy from their advantages without any considerable loss to themselves. They laid down the bridges for the horse to enter, major Desborough commanding the horse, who very gallantly seconded the foot: then, our foot advanced to the city walls, where they possessed the gate against the castle-street, whereinto were put an hundred men, who made it good. Sir Hardress Waller, with his and the general's regiment, with no less resolution, entered on the other side of Lawford's-gate, towards Avon river, and put themselves into an immediate conjunction with the rest of the brigade. During this, colonel Rainsborough and colonel Hammond attempted Priors-hill-fort, and the line downward towards Froom; and the major-general's regiment being to storm towards Froom river, colonel Hammond possessed the line immediately, and beating the enemy from it, made way for the horse to enter. Colonel Rainsborough, who had the hardest task of all at Priors-hill-fort, attempted it, and fought near three hours for it, and indeed there was great despair of carrying the place, it being exceeding high, a ladder of thirty rounds scarce reaching the top thereof; but his resolution was such, that notwithstanding the inaccessibleness and difficulty, he would not give it over. The enemy had four pieces of cannon

upon it, which they plied with round and case shot upon our men: his lieutenant-colonel Bowen and others were two hours at push of pike, standing upon the palisados, but could not enter. Colonel Hammond being entered the line, and captain Ireton, with a forlorn of colonel Rich's regiment, interposing with his horse between the enemy's horse and colonel Hammond, received a shot with two pistol bullets, which broke his arm: by which means the entrance of colonel Hammond did storm the fort on that part which was inward; by which means, colonel Rainsborough and colonel Hammond's men entered the fort, and immediately put almost all the men in it to the sword. And as this was the place of most difficulty, so of most loss to us on that side, and of very great honour to the undertaker. The horse did second them with great resolution. Both these colonels do acknowledge, that their interposition between the enemy's horse and their foot was a great means of obtaining of this strong fort, without which all the rest of the line to Froom river would have done us little good. And indeed neither horse nor foot would have stood in all that way in any manner of security, had not the fort been taken.

Major Bethell's were the first horse that entered the line, who did behave himself gallantly, and was shot in the thigh, had one or two shot more, and had his horse shot under him. Colonel Birch with his men, and the major-general's regiment, entered with very good resolution where their post was; possessing the enemy's guns, and turning them upon them.

By this, all the line from Priors-hill-fort to Avon, (which was a full mile,) with all the forts, ordnance, and bulwarks, were possessed by us, but one, wherein there were about an hundred and twenty men of the enemy, which the general summoned, and all the men submitted.

The success on colonel Welden's side did not answer with this. And although the colonels, and other the officers and soldiers, both horse and foot, testified much resolution as could be expected, colonel Welden, colonel Inglesby, colonel Herbert, and the rest of the colonels and officers, both of horse and foot, doing what could be well looked for from men of honour, yet, what by reason of the height of the works, which

proved higher than report made them, and the shortness of the ladders, they were repulsed with the loss of about an hundred men. Colonel Fortescue's lieutenant-colonel was killed, major Cromwell dangerously shot, and two of colonel Inglesby's brothers hurt, with some officers.

Being possessed of thus much as hath been related, the town was fired in three places by the enemy, which we could not put out; which begat a great trouble in the general and us all, fearing to see so famous a city burnt to ashes before our faces. Whilst we were viewing so sad a spectacle, and consulting which way to make further advantage of our success, the prince sent a trumpet to the general, to desire a treaty for the surrender of the town; to which the general agreed, and deputed colonel Montague, colonel Rainsborough, and colonel Pickering for that service, authorizing them with instructions to treat and conclude the articles, which are these enclosed; for performance whereof, hostages were mutually given. On Thursday, about two of the clock in the afternoon, the prince marched out, having a convoy of two regiments of horse from us, and making election of Oxford for the place he would go to, which he had liberty to do by his articles.

The cannon which we have taken are about one hundred and forty mounted, about one hundred barrels of powder already come to our hands, with a good quantity of shot, ammunition, and arms; we have found already between two and three thousand muskets. The royal fort had victuals in it for one hundred and fifty men for three hundred and twenty days, the castle victualled for near half so long. The prince had foot of the garrison, as the mayor of the city informed me, two thousand five hundred, and about one thousand horse, besides the trained bands of the town, and auxiliaries, one thousand, some say one thousand five hundred. I hear but of one man that hath died of the plague in all our army, although we have quartered amongst and in the midst of infected persons and places. We had not killed of ours in this storm, nor all this siege, two hundred men.

Thus I have given you a true, but not a full account of this great business; wherein he that runs may read, that all this is

none other than the work of God; he must be a very atheist that doth not acknowledge it.

It may be thought that some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made. Their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in the remembrance of God's praises they may be forgotten. It is their joy that they are instruments of God's glory and their country's good; it is their honour, that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you: I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you, and all England over, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are, that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency, and have received it; it is meet that He have all the praise. Presbyterians, Independents, all have here the same spirit of faith and prayer, the same presence and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference; pity it is it should be otherwise any where. All that believe have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual in the body, and to the head. For being united in forms, commonly called *uniformity*, every Christian will, for peace' sake, study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason; in other things God hath put the sword in the parliament's hands, for the *terror of evil doers*, and the *praise of them that do well*. If any plead exemption from it, he knows not the gospel. If any would wring it out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretence soever, I hope they shall do it without effect. That God will maintain it in your hands, and direct you in the use thereof, is the prayer of

Your humble servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.

Bristol, Sept. 14, 1645.

This night the general removed from his quarter at the farm-house, where he had been all the time of the siege extremely ill accommodated by reason of the littleness of the house, which yet he contented himself

withal, in regard it lay so conveniently upon any alarm. But this night he and the lieutenant-general removed, and went to Bristol; which they found so unlike what it had been formerly in its flourishing condition, that it looked now more like a prison than a city, and the people more like prisoners than citizens; being brought so low with taxations, so poor in habit, and so dejected in countenance; the streets so noisome, and the houses so nasty, as that they were unfit to receive friends or freemen till they were cleansed.

Besides the public mercy to the kingdom, in the recovery of Bristol, the vindication of colonel Nathaniel Fiennes (once governor thereof) seems to have been also particularly designed by Providence. The general, with the lieutenant-general, (sitting upon Priors-hill-fort after the storm,) and most of the chief officers of the army, upon a view of the place, comparing the present strength of it with what it was when he delivered it, and other circumstances, freely expressed themselves, as men abundantly satisfied concerning the hard misfortune that befell that noble gentleman. And indeed, whosoever shall compare both the defences together, according to this ensuing parallel, must needs confess, that if prince Rupert deserved to be acquitted, (as he was by the king and a council of war at Newark,) the former defence deserves to be commended:

For, prince Rupert, in this latter, had the advantage of the former, 1, in the line, which was so much stronger (than the former) by the addition of a fort-royal, and many other works; 2, in the numbers of men for defence, which were more than double^e, and twelve hundred of them horse, (which number of horse was a thing of great consideration in so large a line);

^e Prince Rupert had between four and five thousand horse and foot; colonel Fiennes but seventeen hundred of all sorts.

3, in a place of great strength for retreat^f; and, lastly, (which is as considerable as any thing,) in a probability of relief, the king having promised it^g, and being resolved to have performed it in his own person, with all the force he could have drawn together. Yet he, in the defence, slew not two hundred (in all) of our men; embraced a parley so soon as ever the line was entered; and concluded the surrender upon no better articles than the former governor had.

On the other hand, colonel Fiennes, (in the former,) though he had a line^h (full as large) less strong and tenable, and in that part where the enemy entered his works not finished, nor half so many to defend them; though the royal fort was not then built, nor any thing but a weak and rotten castle to retreat unto, which by the judgment of the officersⁱ of this army could not hold out forty-eight hours against a strong battery, much less till relief could reach it, whereof there was no likelihood; nay, the governor^k having sent several times, received no answer; but by intelligence which

^f Viz. the fort-royal: which though it be twice reckoned in this parallel, yet it is in a different respect; viz. here, as a place of retreat; but above, as it did flanker the line, and so strengthen it much.

^g This appeareth in prince Rupert's apology; and that the design of his relief was laid very probably to have succeeded.

^h Prince Rupert, in his printed declaration and apology, allegeth, that the line he had to defend (being about four miles in compass) was generally but three foot thick, and five foot high; the graft commonly but six foot broad, and where it was widest but seven. But four foot deep, and where it was deepest but five. And that in the opinion of all his colonels and officers, it was not tenable upon a brisk and vigorous assault.

ⁱ The officers expressed themselves so.

^k Colonel Fiennes sending to the earl of Essex for relief, his excellency wrote to the lord Say, that the army was not in case to relieve him, nor (he thought) ever would.

he had, he understood he could expect no relief. Yet, (to the utmost improving the means he had,) 1, he slew twelve hundred of the enemy (among whom divers prime officers and commanders); 2, disputed the suburbs a long while after the line was entered; 3, entertained no parley, till all endeavours that could be used (by promise of money or otherwise) were not able to get one hundred and twenty men together: and at length purchased as good conditions as the latter, and (in some substantial points^l) better.

However, all wise men would have saved me this pains; (the sense of the honourable house of commons, immediately upon the reduction of Bristol, calling colonel Fiennes to his former state of honour and employment, being beyond all that can be said.) Yet these considerations are not in vain; for that they serve as well to the commendation of the goodness of God, in the assisting and bearing forth this army through this undertaking, which, by how much the odds between the means and preparations for this latter defence were beyond the former, carried so much the greater demonstration of the more immediate presence of God and his power with our army, (in this reduction of Bristol,) than the enemy could boast of when he took it.

^l As may appear by comparing the articles together.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

The Devizes and Laicock-house surrendered: Berkeley-castle, after in part stormed, surrendered. With an account of the counsels that did lead these actions.

THE face of God now shining again upon Bristol, and the general having, through the improvement of a short stay there, viewed the several forts about the city, and given order concerning the settling thereof in a safe condition; on Saturday, September 13, a council of war was called, to advise what was fit next to be done, (so agreeable was action to this army,) whether to pursue the motion made after the taking of Sherborne, to march presently for the relief of Plymouth, and further parts of the west, or to clear those garrisons that did interpose between the west and London; which latter was very necessary, for that if those garrisons were not reduced, they would hinder correspondence between London and the army, except at high rates, of very excessive trouble and charge to the army, by convoys upon every occasion. This was a business of great undertaking, yet (after all things weighed) it was resolved for the present to attempt the taking in of Berkeley and the Devizes, as those that were the nearest; deferring further resolution, as to the rest, to the opportunities Providence should administer. Colonel Rainsborough, for that purpose, was commanded to march with a brigade (consisting of major general

Skippon's, colonel Herbert's, and lieutenant colonel Pride's regiments) for the taking in of Berkeley-castle, (already blocked up by horse,) the only garrison considerable left in the county of Gloucester, interrupting the passage between Bristol and Gloucester. Lieutenant-general Cromwell was designed by the general with another brigade (consisting of colonel Montague's, colonel Pickering's, sir Hardress Waller's, and colonel Hammond's regiments) for the taking in of the Devizes and Laicock-house.

On Tuesday following, the general having but the overnight newly finished the whole business for the settlement of Bristol, and dismissing of those of the enemy that were to be then gone, (except some few persons of quality, who had leave to stay a while in the town,) removed his quarters that night to a friend's house, whilst the army marched according to former orders.

Wednesday, September 17, his excellency marched to Bath, and rested there some four or five days for the better recovery of his health, (as was need,) having been much wearied out, and spent with that great business of Bristol.

During which time, lieutenant general Cromwell sat down before the castle of the Devizes, which commanded the county of Wilts, and was placed in the road of traffick between the west and London: it was a place of great strength, having been an old fortification, raised on a huge mount of earth; the governor, sir Charles Lloyd, a good engineer, had added to the strength of its natural situation what art could do, having cut out of the main earth several works commanding one another, and so strong, that no cannon could pierce them; besides, that being pallisadoed, and stockadoed, in most places, it was a matter of extreme diffi-

culty to storm it: notwithstanding, the lieutenant-general (not discouraged thereat) sat down close to it, and having conveniently planted his cannon and mortar-pieces, on Sunday, at one of the clock, he sent in to summon the castle.

The governor sent forth word, that the king his master put him in trust, and he desired ten days' time to send to him: in the mean time he would keep it for the king. The lieutenant-general wished him not to let slip such an opportunity: or, if he were otherwise resolved, in much civility, he gave leave to send forth his lady and such other gentlewomen that were in the castle; and further let him know, that none were more fitting to keep strong holds, forts, and castles than the parliament for the use of the king: whereupon the governor returned, "Win it and wear it." Upon receipt of this answer, the lieutenant-general having put all things in readiness for a storm, gave command to the cannoneers presently to give fire, and also to play the mortar-pieces; which was accordingly done; and some of the granados breaking in the midst of the castle (being open above) killed several of their men, and much endangered the blowing up of the magazine; which so startled the enemy, that on Monday about eight of the clock in the morning the governor sent forth for a parley, and sent out two of his captains, captain Challinor and captain Garroway. The lieutenant-general sent two captains into them, and about eleven of the clock the lieutenant-general sent them in these propositions following; viz.

1. That all commanders and gentlemen should march to any garrison the king had within thirty miles, with their horse and arms; and that all private soldiers should march away leaving their arms behind them, but not to go to the same garrisons the commanders marched to.

2. That all gentlemen in the castle should have liberty to go to their own homes or beyond the seas.

3. That all soldiers that have been formerly in the parliament service should be delivered up to the lieutenant-general, and all soldiers that would take up arms in the parliament service should be entertained.

To these propositions the lieutenant-general desired his speedy answer, that so they might march away by four of the clock in the afternoon; to which the governor agreed, (saving in point of time,) and delivered up the castle on the morrow at ten of the clock, at which time they marched out. The governor and his officers with their arms, and his foot without arms, having the liberty of three carriages, and a safe convoy to Worcester. The number of soldiers that marched out were about four hundred. In the castle was found a very plentiful magazine of victuals, and good store of ammunition, and two piece of ordnance.

The Devizes thus happily reduced, the general marched thither Tuesday 23 from Bath, and the enemy marched out the same day towards Worcester, according to the articles. And as the wheels of gracious Providence were now upon a nimble motion, so God was pleased to carry forth the army to a most full compliance with the same. No sooner was the Devizes gained, but the same day colonel Pickering, with his own and two regiments more, was commanded to Laicock-house, a garrison of the enemy's, kept by colonel Bovile; who, considering that neither Bristol nor the Devizes were able to hold out against our force, did easily resolve, that a poor house was much less able (though in truth there were good works about it). Accordingly therefore, upon the first summons, he came to conditions of surrender, and had honourable terms granted him: upon which he marched out the

next day towards Excester, viz. himself, his officers, and soldiers, with their arms and baggage; the general himself adding to the solemnity by his own presence, who went from the Devizes on purpose to view the garrison, and see the enemy march forth.

The same day colonel Rainsborough with his forces before Berkeley-castle stormed the outworks and the church, which were the main strength of the castle, with scaling-ladders, performing the service with so much resolution and gallantry, (both officers and soldiers,) as quickly made them masters of the place; wherein were taken ninety prisoners, besides forty put to the sword, amongst whom were a major and a captain. This was such a terror and discouragement unto the enemy within the castle, to see the resolution of our soldiers, and the execution done upon theirs in the church and outworks, that the governor, sir Charles Lucas, (who returned answer to the first summons, That he would eat horseflesh before he would yield, and man's flesh when that was done: and upon a second summons sent as peremptory an answer); yet now perceiving the planting of our ordnance against him upon his own works, (which we had newly gained,) whereby we had a great advantage to play into the castle; and sensible what he was to expect if he came not to present terms, was glad to sound a parley, which was yielded to, and commissioners sent out to treat, and the castle was surrendered upon these articles: the soldiers to march out without arms; the governor, sir Charles Lucas, with three horses and arms, and not above 50*l.* in money; every field-officer with two horses, and but 5*l.* in money; foot-captains with swords, but no horse; the soldiers with not above 5*s.* apiece.

This castle was a place of great strength, well victualled and manned; the governor thereof, sir Charles

Lucas, a soldier of reputation and valour, confident to hold it out against any force should appear before it that winter.

There were taken in it eleven pieces of ordnance, provision of victuals for six months (afterwards sold for a good value for the use of the soldiery). In this service we lost only one captain, not many common soldiers (though many wounded). Colonel Herbert, as he valiantly led on his men to storm, was shot through the hat (narrowly escaping a greater danger). There marched out of the castle above five hundred horse and foot; the county of Gloucester not a little satisfied with the reducing of this castle, being a total clearing of their county.

How this high hand of God, lifted up, and stretched forth against the enemy, wrought upon them, I shall give you in some instances. A lieutenant colonel of sir Charles Lucas's, when he saw the garrison was surrendered, could not hold, but brake forth and swore to colonel Rainsborough, he could be content to go to hell, and be a major there to plague the roundheads; advancing in his hellish dialect in this latter speech, but proportionable to his essay in a former speech after the first summons, when he said, God damn him he would go quick into hell rather than yield the castle to the roundheads. Another of their officers in the same castle said to a captain of horse in our army, he thought God was turned roundhead, the king's forces prospered so ill.

These ought to be the greater engagements upon us to sanctify that name of God which he proclaims amongst us in these successes: from whom else shall God have his glory?

CHAPTER II.

The counsels whereby the army steered their course imparted.
The reduction of Winchester.

AND now came into consideration, in what way for the advantage of the kingdom's service the army should be disposed of, as to the ensuing winter, (it being then the latter end of September,) the taking in of some of these garrisons of the enemy's, viz. Winchester, Basing, Dennington, Farringdon, and Wallingford, which, together with Oxford, like vipers in the bowels, infested the midland parts, seemed with much reason to invite the army (especially being so near them) to attempt them; which if, by God's blessing, they should happily succeed in, they might (to the best advantage) make their winter quarters about Oxford, whereby that garrison being straitened would probably fall into their hands by the spring, for want of provisions. On the other hand, many a sad look towards the west (where the most considerable visible strength of the enemy then was, which if let alone all winter might possibly prove very formidable in the spring, and in the meanwhile overpowering major general Masay's forces then about Taunton, might advance their quarters into the midland parts, and make all our new conquests unserviceable to the kingdom) did strongly incline the army that way; but that which most of all distracted them, was, that they were not able at once to grasp both the west and midland parts, (as was their great ambition,) yet resolving to assay what they were able to both; lieutenant-general Cromwell was sent with the forementioned brigade, and three regiments of horse, for the taking in of the garrisons of Winchester and Basing, which was the rather attempted, because it conduced much to the absolute freeing of a passage from London into the west, whither

the general with the rest of the army, according to a resolution then taken, was immediately marching.

Colonel Rainsborough, his work at Berkeley-castle being done, was commanded to advance to the general, who resolved to halt with his forces about Warminster till he came up to him. Accordingly, Saturday 27, the general marched to Warminster with the army, and there continued till Tuesday the 30th, on which day the army marched towards Shaftesbury, and were mustered in their march; the general continuing still at Warminster, choosing so to do, not only for the forementioned reason, but also till he might hear that the treasure for the army was at least on the way from London, the soldiers being so out of money, that they were all enforced to take free quarter, which they had not done till then. During his excellency's abode at Warminster, the good news of the king's forces being routed at Routon-heath near West-Chester, by major-general Pointz, was brought to the army.

Wednesday, October 1, the army marched to Middleton, and thence the next day to Dorchester, and thence, Saturday October 4, to Beauminster, where they rested the Lord's day, (only the train that was in the rear marched that day up to the van of the army,) and thence on Monday to Chard; and on Wednesday the 8th, the general went to Lyme, where he was honourably entertained by the governor, colonel Ceeley, and stayed there that night. It was wonderful to think, considering the situation of the place, and the meanness of the works about it, that it should possibly hold out as it did, against such a force as laid siege unto it.

This day passed not without bringing forth some good tidings to the army; for news came this morning to the general, that Winchester was agreed to be surrendered to lieutenant-general Cromwell: the terms

whereupon, and other particulars concerning the same, I shall present you withal in the words of the lieutenant-general's letter, and Mr. Peters' relation made to the house of commons. The letter follows:

SIR,

I came to Winchester on the Lord's day, being the 28th of September, with colonel Pickering, commanding his own, colonel Montague's, and sir Hardress Waller's regiments. After some dispute with the governor we entered the town; I summoned the castle, was denied, whereupon we fell to prepare our batteries, which we could not perfect (some of our guns being out of order) until Friday following. Our battery was six guns, which being finished, after once firing of them round, I sent him a second summons for a treaty, which they refused, whereupon we went on with our work, and made a breach in the wall near the black tower, which after about two hundred shot, we thought stormable, and purposed on Monday morning to attempt it. On Sunday night about ten of the clock the governor beat a parley, desiring to treat; I agreed unto it, and sent colonel Hammond and major Harrison in to him, who agreed unto these enclosed articles.

Sir, this is the addition of another mercy; you see God is not weary in doing you good; I confess, sir, his favour to you is as visible when he comes by his power upon the hearts of his enemies, making them quit places of strength to you, as when he gives courage to your soldiers to attempt hard things. His goodness is in this much to be acknowledged, for the castle was well manned with 680 horse and foot, there being near 200 gentlemen, officers, and their servants; well victualled, with 1500 weight of cheese, very great store of wheat and beer, near twenty barrels of powder, seven pieces of cannon: the works were exceeding good and strong. It is very likely it would have cost much blood to have gained it by storm: we have not lost twelve men. This is repeated to you, that God may have all the praise, for it is all his due.

Sir, I rest

your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

Mr. Peters' report made to the house of commons containing some other particulars concerning Winchester:

My commands (from the lieutenant-general) are to give this honourable house a further narrative of the castle of Winchester, being upon the place, and a spectator of God's good hand in the whole work; as also to present his humble request to the house in some particulars. And before I speak to either of them, if gratitude itself were not sometimes unseasonable, I would, in my own name, and in the name of many thousands, return this honourable house most humble thanks for our lieutenant-general, in that you suffer with patience the vacancy of his place in this house: my wish is, that his spirit, and that public English spirit of Hampden, Pym, and Strowd, may be doubled upon your new elected members.

For our lieutenant-general, this I may say, that judgment and affections are in him striving for the mastery; I have rarely seen such heights and depths concent in one man; that when I look upon the two chiefs of our army, I remember Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstern, and I wish that our hopes in these may not be so shortlived as the Germans' hopes in them were. More I might say concerning him that sent me, who is so far above the world, and lives so little upon the state's pay, and minds himself so little; but that he hath enjoined silence to all his friends in any thing that might turn to his own praise.

For the castle of Winchester, we begun our batteries upon Saturday morning, which wrought so effectually, that a breach, wherein thirty men might go abreast, was made; the enemy sallied out, and beat our men from our guns, which were soon recovered again; we played then with our granadoes from our mortarpieces, with the best effect that I have seen, which brake down the mansion house in many places, cut off a commissioner of theirs by the thighs, the most austere and wretched instrument in that country, and at last blew up their flag of defiance into the air, and tore the pinnacle in pieces upon which it stood.

Summons being sent as we entered upon this work, was refused by the lord Ogle their governor: and another summons God sent them, in the middle of their battery; his lady, to

whom our lieutenant-general had given leave to come forth, and had gone some miles out of the town, died, by whom the governor had, during her life, 1000*l.* a year, now lost by her death.

The chiefest street of the town the enemy played upon, whereby divers passengers were wounded, and some killed, in which street my quarters were: I have that cause to bless God for my preservation.

The Lord's day we spent in preaching and prayer, whilst our gunners were battering, and at eight o'clock at night we received a letter from the governor for a treaty, which I have brought with me. Colonel Hammond and major Harrison were sent into the castle on our party. Sir Edward Ford and a major of theirs was sent to us. The whole night was spent about it, our men standing upon some special terms with them, and very desirous were we to accept sir Edward Ford and sir Humphrey Bennet to be our hostages. By eight of the clock on Monday morning, it was agreed they should depart out of the castle at five of the clock, according to these articles:

Articles agreed upon, the 5th of October 1645, between the right honourable William viscount Ogle, governor of the garrison of the castle of Winton, of the one part, and colonel Robert Hammond and major Thomas Harrison on the behalf of lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell, of the other party, for the surrender of the said castle.

1. That the lord Ogle shall deliver up the castle of Winchester, with all the arms, ordnance, ammunition, provision, and all function of war whatsoever, without any embezzlement, waste, or spoil, unto that officer or officers as shall be thereunto appointed by the said lieutenant-general to morrow, being Monday the 6th of October, by three of the clock afternoon.

2. That the said lord Ogle shall have his own colours, and one hundred fixed arms for his guard, and one hundred men to carry them.

3. That the lord Ogle, and all the officers in commission, shall march out of the said castle with their own horse and arms, and their own proper goods, unto Woodstock, whither they shall be safely conveyed.

4. That there shall be allowed to the lord Ogle and his officers six carriages for the transporting of their goods aforesaid.

5. That all officers, gentlemen, clergymen, and inhabitants of the city of Winchester, and all officers within the guards, (desiring it,) may be at their own time, free from all violence and injury of the parliament's forces.

6. That the lord Ogle shall give sufficient hostages for the performance of the articles here constituted on their part to be performed, also for the safe return of the convoy.

These articles being concluded on, I was forthwith sent into the castle, to take a view of it before my departure, where I found a piece of ground improved to the best advantage; for when we were entered by battery we had six distinct works and a drawbridge to pass through, so that it was doubtless a very strong piece, and well appointed, as may appear by this ensuing note of the ammunition and provisions we found there; viz. 7 pieces of ordnance; 17 barrels of powder; 2000 weight of musket bullet; 800 weight of match; 38 hogsheads of beef and pork; 15,000 weight of cheese; 800 pound of butter; 140 quarters of wheat and meal; 3 hogsheads of French wine; 10 quarters of salt; 20 bushel of oatmeal; 70 dozen of candles; 30 load of wood; 40 quarters of charcoal; 30 bushels of sea-coal; 14 sheep; 4 quarters of fresh beef; 7000 weight of biscuits; 112 hogsheads of strong beer.

The castle was manned with 700 men, divers of them reformed. The chief men I saw there were, viscount Ogle, their governor; sir John Pawlet, an old soldier; sir William Courtney and colonel Bennet; also doctor Curle, the bishop of Winchester, who came forth to our quarters in the morning, with whom I spent an hour or two; who with tears and much importunity desired the lieutenant-general's favour to excuse his not accepting the offer that he made unto him in his first entering the town. He desired of me a guard to his lodging, lest the soldiers should use violence to him and his chaplain, who were in their long gowns and cassocks; and he was accordingly safely conveyed home. I do verily believe that they will hardly bring to Woodstock 200 men. It did much affect us to see what an enemy we had to deal with, who, themselves being judges, could not choose but say, that *our God is not as their God*. And this is the nineteenth garrison hath been taken this summer, through God's goodness; and he that will

not take his share in this common joy is either stupid or envious.

The fruits of what is already done are great; amongst the rest, what I saw upon the way, all sorts travelling upon their occasions freely to their own homes, with carriages and wains, many inns filled with guests, the former face of things returning upon us in several kinds; yea, now we may ride with safety from Dover to the middle of Devonshire.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell stayed but one day after sir William Ogle the governor of Winchester and the rest of the garrison were marched out to Oxford, to settle that place; but immediately took his march towards Basing, for the reducing thereof.

Thus far Mr. Peters. But before I leave Winchester, I cannot but observe a remarkable piece of justice done in satisfaction to the enemy, for some injury they had sustained at their marching forth of Winchester, by plunder, contrary to the articles, which was done by some troopers; who being apprehended, were afterwards tried by a council of war, and condemned to die; and after lots cast for their lives, (being six of them,) he whose lot it was to die was brought to the place of execution, where, with a demonstration of great penitence, (so far as the beholders did judge,) he suffered death for his offence; which exemplary justice made a good impression upon the soldiery. The other five were sent with a convoy to Oxford, (together with a full account of this proceeding, to the governor there, sir Thomas Glemham,) to be delivered over as prisoners, and to be put to death, or otherwise punished as he should think fit; which was so well received by the enemy, (to see so much right was done them,) that sir Thomas Glemham returned the prisoners back again, with an acknowledgment of the lieutenant-general's nobleness, in being so tender in breach of articles.

CHAPTER III.

The several motions and actions of the army unto Tiverton. The storming and taking of Basing-house fully related.

BUT now to return to his excellency, who on Thursday the 9th came back from Lyme to Chard, where he received intelligence that Goring intended to break through with his horse: whereupon a letter was sent to the committees of the county of Somerset, to have the country in a readiness to rise (if occasion should be) for the making good of the passes.

The general rested at Chard, till the treasure (so long expected) was come up thither, which was on Saturday the 11th, and the army was paid that night, having been ever since the taking of Bristol without pay.

On Monday 13th, the army being paid, part of it advanced to Axminster, on which day a captain of the lord Goring's came in to us with a troop of horse, as also one colonel Connocke, late governor of Tiverton. But for this latter, the general understanding of his cruel carriage to the country (whilst he was governor of that place) in torturing people, by burning them with matches, and otherwise cruelly using both men and women, (in such manner as is not fit to be mentioned,) he was required to depart the quarters of the parliament, or to be proceeded against as a spy.

This day his excellency had further intelligence by his spies that the lord Goring intended to break through with the horse, or beat up our quarters that night; and that he had advanced most of them on this side the river Ex, for that end (being himself at Poltimore with about 1500 horse); whereupon commissary-general Iretton gave strict orders for the keeping of the guards, and also that all the horsemen that were in quarters should have their horses ready saddled, in case there should be

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an alarm: and our caution in this point was no more than needed; for this night, the lord Goring, lord Wentworth, lord Miller, and most of their bravest cavalry, came from their quarters near Excester, and passed through Hunniton about twelve at night, and so came on to Black-down, and knowing the country well, by an obscure and unusual way passed our out-guards, (the extreme darkness of the night favouring them,) and got between the main guard and our quarters, and falling into some of the dragoon and foot quarters, took about forty foot and twenty dragoons, and returned immediately, fearing lest the army should have taken the alarm; but so nimble were they in that action, that they were gone before the alarm was received.

Tuesday the 14th, the general and the army marched from Chard to Hunniton, by the way of Axminster; and that night our horse and much of the foot lay in the field about Hunniton, lest the enemy should break through (we pressing so hard upon them) to join with the king, which was (in the opinion of the general, and all understanding men) the best game they had to play, and most disadvantageous to our proceedings; as that, that would have enabled the king to make incursions into the eastern association, and divert a great part of this army, who desired to complete the service of reducing the west before they returned. But the enemy attempted it not that night; and had they not (upon advertisement that our forces were come to Hunniton) removed their quarters from St. Mary Autree, Poul-timour, (and those parts,) beyond the river Ex, (as they did,) they had certainly been beaten up (parties being sent out for that purpose).

Wednesday the 15th, the general and the army marched from Hunniton to Collumpton, where the lord

Miller was with 300 dragoons and some horse, who upon our approach quit their barricadoes, and the town, left their turnpikes standing. Strong parties pursued them, and took some prisoners, who confessed their party were gone towards Tiverton. Whereupon a council of war was that night called, and major-general Massey was desired to go with his horse, and the brigade of foot under the command of colonel Welden, to possess the town of Tiverton, and besiege the castle; which accordingly he did.

Thursday, October 16^m, there came in some officers from the enemy, a lieutenant-colonel and two captains, who declared their unhappiness to be engaged on that side, desiring a pass to go to the lord Inchequin, to serve in Ireland against the rebels.

The general went this day to Broadnix, where the enemy kept a guard with a commanded party of foot and some horse; but upon the approach of our forces they quit the town, and the general returned back to Collumpton, where information was given by the inhabitants of good repute, that the enemy had boasted, the day before our coming into the town, that Goring had cut Fairfax in pieces near Chard, and routed his whole army; took drink upon it, and wished it might be their poison, if it were not true. This course the enemy took, to make their party believe they were great conquerors; whereas indeed what they did was very inconsiderable, and, as to the reducing their affairs into any tolerable condition, scarce worth the mentioning. And on this occasion may be noted, (though it might be mentioned in a more fit place afterward,) that

^m About this time, prince Rupert and Maurice, as they were going from Banbury and those parts (with a convoy of Banbury horse) to the king at Newark, (in that mood,) to take their leave of him, were set upon by colonel Rossiter, and sore put to it.

this small business near Chard was the only affront the enemy put upon us during the army's being in the west of England; but with what iterated affronts our forces have recompensed them in their quarters, the action at Bovy-Tracy, and divers other places hereafter mentioned, will manifest.

Friday, October 17, a council of war was called for advice, whether to march towards Excester, and so towards Plymouth, or to take in Tiverton, in regard it lay upon a pass, and might much annoy the army to leave it behind them unreduced, or at least unblocked up; and if once taken, might be a magazine, and place of strength and conveniency, either to secure any thing in, or to retreat unto upon occasion: whereupon it was resolved to make it their work to take in that place, and the rather, to enforce Goring's horse to keep to the other side of Ex; for the army, being once possessed of that pass, would be the better able to keep the enemy before them from breaking through. Whereupon this day, towards noon, the general marched towards Tiverton with a great part of the army, leaving some horse and foot at Broadnix, Silvertown, and Columb-John, within four miles of Excester, and accordingly, as was desired, it succeeded, in that the enemy was enforced to draw all over Ex.

But before I proceed in this story, I must give you a relation of the taking of Basing, a place of great concernment, and which had been a great annoyance unto the country and the city of London, in hindering trade.

This business, as it was managed by lieutenant-general Cromwell, who in person commanded in the reducing of that place, and Winchester, and managed the same with much prudence and resolution; so I shall give you the particulars of the action in the words of his own letter, and Mr. Peters' relation.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell's letter to the honourable William Lenthall, Esq., speaker to the honourable house of commons.

SIR,

I thank God I can give you a good account of Basing. After our batteries placed, we settled the several posts for the storm: colonel Dalbier was to be on the north side of the house next the Grange, colonel Pickering on his left hand, and sir Hardress Waller's and colonel Montague's regiments next him. We stormed this morning, after six of the clock; the signal for falling on, was, the firing four of our cannon, which being done, our men fell on with great resolution and cheerfulness; we took the two houses without any considerable loss to ourselves; colonel Pickering stormed the new house, passed through, and got the gate of the old house; whereupon they summoned a parley, which our men would not hear. In the mean time, colonel Montague's and sir Hardress Waller's regiments assaulted the strongest works, where the enemy kept his court of guard, which with great resolution they recovered, beating the enemy from a whole culverin, and from that work; which having done, they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work, and the house-wall, before they could enter: in this, sir Hardress Waller performing his duty with honour and diligence, was shot on the arm, but not dangerous. We have had little loss; many of the enemy our men put to the sword, and some officers of quality; most of the rest we have prisoners, among which the marquis and sir Robert Peak, with divers other officers, whom I have ordered to be sent to you: we have taken about ten piece of ordnance, much ammunition, and our soldiers a good encouragement.

I humbly offer to have this place slighted, for these reasons: it will ask 800 men to man it; it is no frontier; the country is poor about it; the place exceedingly ruined by our batteries and mortar-pieces, and a fire which fell upon the place since our taking it. If you please to take the garrison of Farnham, some out of Chichester, and a good part of the foot which were here under D'Albier, and make a strong quarter at Newbury, with three or four troops of horse, I dare be con-

fidient it would not only be a curb to Dennington, but a security and frontier to all these parts, and by lying there will make the trade most secure between Bristol and London for all carriages: and I believe the gentlemen of Sussex and Hampshire will with more cheerfulness contribute to maintain a garrison on the frontier than in their bowels, which will have less safety in it. Sir, I hope not to delay, but march towards the west to-morrow, and to be as diligent as I may in my expedition thither. I must speak my judgment to you, that if you intend to have your work carried on, recruits of foot must be had, and a course taken to pay your army; else believe me, sir, it may not be able to answer the work you have for it to do.

I entreated colonel Hammond to wait upon you, who was taken by a mistake, whilst we lay before this garrison; whom God safely delivered to us, to our great joy, but to his loss of almost all he had, which the enemy took from him.

The Lord grant that these mercies may be acknowledged with all thankfulness. God exceedingly abounds in his goodness to us, and will not be weary, until righteousness and peace meet, and that he hath brought forth a glorious work for the happiness of this poor kingdom. Wherein desires to serve God and you with a faithful heart,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

BASINGSTOKE,
October 14, 1645.

Mr. Peters' relation to the house of commons was as followeth:

That he came into Basing-house some time after the storm, on Tuesday the 14th of October 1645, and took a view first of the works, which were many, the circumvallation being above a mile compass; the old house had stood (as it is reported) 2 or 300 years, a nest of idolatry, the new house surpassing that in beauty and stateliness, and either of them fit to make an emperor's court.

The rooms before the storm, (it seems,) in both houses, were all completely furnished, provisions for some years rather

than months; 400 quarters of wheat, bacon divers rooms full, (containing hundreds of fitches,) cheese proportionable, with oatmeal, beef, pork, beer, divers cellars full, and that very good.

A bed in one room, furnished, that cost 1300*l.*, popish books many, with copes, and such utensils, that in truth the house stood in its full pride, and the enemy was persuaded that it would be the last piece of ground that would be taken by the parliament, because they had so often foiled our forces that had formerly appeared before it. In the several rooms, and about the house, there were slain seventy-four, and only one woman, the daughter of doctor Griffith, who by her railing provoked our soldiers (then in heat) into a further passion. There lay dead upon the ground, major Cuffie, (a man of great account amongst them, and a notorious papist,) slain by the hands of major Harrison, (that godly and gallant gentleman,) and Robinson the player, who, a little before the storm, was known to be mocking and scorning the parliament and our army. Eight or nine gentlewomen of rank, running forth together, were entertained by the common soldiers somewhat coarsely, yet not uncivilly, considering the action in hand. The plunder of the soldier continued till Tuesday night. One soldier had 120 pieces in gold for his share, others plate, others jewels; amongst the rest, one got three bags of silver, which (he being not able to keep his own counsel) grew to be common pillage amongst the rest, and the fellow had but one half crown left for himself at last.

Also the soldiers sold the wheat to country people, which they held up at good rates a while, but afterwards the market fell, and there was some abatements for haste. After that they sold the householdstuff, whereof there was good store; and the country loaded away many carts, and continued a great while fetching out all manner of householdstuff, till they had fetched out all the stools, chairs, and other lumber, all which they sold to the country people by piecemeal. In these great houses there was not one iron bar left in all the windows (save only what was in the fire) before night. And the last work of all was the lead, and by Thursday morning they had hardly left one gutter about the house. And what the soldiers left, the fire took hold on; which made more than

ordinary haste ; leaving nothing but bare walls and chimneys in less than twenty hours, being occasioned by the neglect of the enemy, in quenching a fireball of ours at first.

We know not how to give a just account of the number of persons that were within ; for we have not three hundred prisoners, and it may be an hundred slain, whose bodies (some being covered with rubbish) came not to our view ; only riding to the house on Tuesday night, we heard divers crying in vaults for quarter, but our men could neither come to them nor they to us. But amongst those that we saw slain, one of their officers lying on the ground, seeming so exceeding tall, was measured, and from his great toe to his crown was nine foot in length.

The marquis being pressed by Mr. Peters arguing with him, broke out, and said, that if the king had no more ground in England but Basing-house, he would adventure as he did, and so maintain it to his uttermost, meaning with these papists : comforting himself in this disaster, that Basing-house was called *loyalty*. But he was soon silenced in the question concerning the king and parliament, only hoping that the king might have a day again. And thus the Lord was pleased in a few hours to show us what mortal seed all earthly glory grows upon, and how just and righteous the ways of God are, who takes sinners in their own snares, and lifteth up the heads of his despised people.

This is now the twentieth garrison that hath been taken in this summer by this army ; and I believe most of them, the answer of the prayers and trophies of the faith of some of God's servants, the commander of this brigade having spent much time with God in prayer the night before the storm, and seldom fighting without some text of scripture to support him. This time he rested upon that blessed word of God written in the 115th Psalm, ver. 8, *They that make them are like unto them, so is every one that trusteth in them ;* which, with some verses going before, was now accomplished.

Whereas the house had ordered that the country people should carry away those buildings, God Almighty had decreed touching that beforehand, nothing remained but a blast of wind to blow down the tottering walls and chimneys : doubtless this providence of God hath a double voice, the one unto

the enemy, and the other unto us ; the Lord help us with skill to improve it. I hope by this time the state hath a pennyworth for a penny, and I hope they will have full measure and running over.

I wish that the payment and recruiting of this army may not be slighted : it is an easy matter to grieve God in our neglects towards him ; and not hard to weary one another. What if the poor soldier had some remembrance, though small, to leave as the acceptance of this service, which is already begun by a worthy member of this houseⁿ, who hath appointed some medals to be made of gold to be bestowed upon those that ventured on the greatest difficulties.

Mr. Peters presented the marquis's own colours, which he brought from Basing, the motto of which was, *Donec pax reddat terris* ; the very same king Charles gave upon his coronation money when he came to the crown.

But our only God doth usually temper such pleasant cups unto us ; for in the close of this glorious victory the death of major Bethel was brought unto us, shot at Bristol ; and, tired through want of sleep, he is gone into the bosom of the Lord Jesus, whom he loved so dearly whilst he lived. I wish he may not go unlamented to his grave, who was so full of God, and the fairest flower of the city amongst us ; lived without pride and died full of faith.

The army's tears over major Bethel.

Thou gallant charger, dost thou wheel about
To sable shades ? or dost thou rather post
To Bethel, (Bethel,) there to make a shout
Of the great triumphs of a scorned host ?
Or (blessed soul) was it unworthy we
That made thee weary with such dust to be ?

Or, tired with our new reforming pace,
Tasting some sips of heav'n, dost therefore haste

ⁿ Mr. Maynard.

To fuller draughts of that eternal grace,
 Fearing thy spirit might be here embrac'd?
 Farewell, dear soul; thy great deserv'd arrears
 We'll pay in others' blood or our own tears.

Only let all ages, when they tell
 The unexampled tale of '45
 Yea, when these records to their glory swell,
 And be completed by the saints alive;
 When Naseby, Langport, Bristol nam'd they hear,
 Let them all say, Sweet Bethel, he was there.

B ear a part in these laments,
 E very soul that longs for peace;
 T ruly, who with God indents
 Here to have thereof a lease,
 E nters with himself a war:
 L ean on things that truly are.

CHAPTER IV.

The cheap reduction of Tiverton-castle, by a strange providence.
 The surrender of Langford-house.

BUT to return to my story. Saturday, October 18, much of the time was spent in raising of batteries against Tiverton church and castle: the general, with major-general Massey, oftentimes that day viewed the works, castle, and church, for the ordering of the batteries and approaches. A spy was this day from the castle let down in a rope; and being taken by our guards, threw his letter by the water side; but being threatened, discovered where the letter was; which being found (where he had thrown it) was read: it was directed to sir John Berkeley, governor of Excester; it discovered the resolution of sir Gilbert Talbot to hold out, but yet he desired relief of sir John Berkeley.

Lord's day, October 19, the general went early to see to the batteries, and the ordnance being ready

planted, a council of war was called, wherein it was agreed to storm the church, castle, and works; and being in debate of the manner of the storm, (which was that afternoon to be put in execution,) our ordnance playing hard against the works and castle, the chain of the drawbridge with a round shot was broken in two, whereupon the bridge fell down, and our men immediately, without staying for orders, possessed themselves of the bridge, and entered the works, and possessed the churchyard, which so terrified the enemy, that it made them quit their ordnance, and some of their posts and line, and instantly fled into the church and castle; our men got over the rest of the bulwarks and line, and pursued the enemy into the church and castle, where they cried out in a lamentable manner for quarter; our soldiers crept in at the church windows, (they having made fast the doors,) and made all within prisoners, plundered them, and stripped most of them to their shirts, yet gave them their lives. The governor, who had formerly received a summons, but peremptorily refused to hearken to any treaty of surrender, (though he despaired of any relief,) shut himself up into his chamber in the castle, and hung out a white flag for a parley; but being now too late, it would not be hearkened to, (such was the fury of the soldier,) yet when they got into the castle, and came to the place where he was, they gave him fair quarter.

There was much plunder found in the castle (besides provisions). There was taken one major Sadler, who formerly served the parliament, and ran to the enemy, and had privately sent and made overtures what service he would do if he might be pardoned: but his offers were rejected, and he falling into our hands was called to a council of war, and condemned to suffer death for his former treachery; who, to save his life,

broke prison, (after he was condemned,) and escaped to Excester, where he was (by his own side) called to a council of war, for endeavouring to betray their cause after he had undertaken it; and was therefore adjudged to die, and suffered death accordingly: it being alleged against him, that he treacherously quit his posts in the late service of Tiverton. Besides him, who escaped us, (but not justice, an Irish rebel was taken and executed,) there was taken prisoners in this place, sir Gilbert Talbot (the governor), four majors, and about two hundred more officers and soldiers.

This day intelligence came, that after lieutenant-general Cromwell had taken Basing, he immediately marched towards Langford-house, (near Salisbury,) faced the same with part of his brigade, sent in a summons; and that the governor, upon the experience that Basing and Winchester were not able to resist the force that was come against that place, (conceiving his condition desperate,) hearkened to a treaty, and surrendered the place upon these ensuing articles:

1. The commanders-in-chief of the said garrison to surrender the said house and garrison to the said lieutenant-general Cromwell, on the morrow, by twelve of the clock, being the 18th of October then instant.
2. All arms and ammunition in the said garrison to be delivered to the use of the parliament, without any embezzling of them.
3. The commanders-in-chief to march away with horse and arms, and the private soldiers without arms to Oxford, within ten days, and to have a troop of horse for their guard the first day, and a trumpet with a pass the rest of the way.
5. The rest of the gentlemen, not exceeding fourteen more, to march with their swords and pistols and horses, if they should lawfully procure them.
6. The commanders-in-chief to have a cart or wagon allowed them, to carry their goods to Oxford.
7. If any gentleman of the said garrison had a desire to go

to any other garrison or army of the king's, to have passes to that purpose.

8. The goods remaining in the said garrison to be delivered to the several owners thereof upon demand, within two days next following the date hereof.

9. Lieutenant-colonel Bowles and major Fry to be left hostages, until these articles should be performed.

CHAPTER V.

Excester straitened in order to a siege; with several debates and resolutions thereabouts.

THESE six garrisons, of the Devizes, Laicock-house, Basing, Winchester, Langford, and Tiverton, (besides Berkeley-castle,) being reduced since the taking of Bristol, there was no garrison in the way between Excester and London, to interrupt the passage, so that a single man might travel without any fear of the enemy, (all the obstructing garrisons being cleared,) except Corf-castle near the sea coasts (which yet was securely blocked up by the governor of Poole, and colonel Pickering's regiment, sent thither for that purpose).

Monday, October 20, the general and the whole army marched to Silverton and the parts thereabouts, (within five or six miles of Excester,) where a council of war was called, to consult what was fit next to be done, whether to advance further west, (before Excester was reduced,) or to march up to the enemy, and relieve Plymouth. After a long and serious debate, it was held fit, in regard of the season of the year, (winter being coming on,) and the soldier already very sickly, and much wearied out by their continual marches and hard duties; rather to make it their work to straiten Excester, than to march further west for the present, and

to leave so considerable a garrison upon their backs, wherein were 1000 horse at that instant, besides 4000 foot, that might annoy the eastern parts of the country, as well as the army in the rear, if they advanced further. This resolution was not so acceptable to the gentlemen of those parts, (who would feign have had the army advance further into the west,) and desirous enough was the general to comply with them; but his judgment did not lead him to it at this time, for the reasons before mentioned. Wherefore, Tuesday, 21st of October, the general went in person with a small party to Stoke, and so on towards Excester, till he came within less than a mile of the town, viewed that part of the city, and returned back that night to Silverton. A council of war was again called, wherein it was concluded, that one part of the army should march over Ex, by the way of Tharverton, and the other to Stoke-bridge, and parts thereabouts.

Wednesday, October 22, the general with a great part of the army marched to Newton Siers, with an intention to have gone that night to Affington; but the ways being narrow, and the days short, was enforced to take up their quarter that night at Newton Siers, where his excellency received intelligence that Goring went the night before from Excester towards Okehampton, with the greatest part of the 1000 horse before mentioned.

Thursday, October 23, the army marched early from Newton Siers to a rendezvous, at the Beacon, within three miles of Excester, with intention to go to Affington that night. But such was the extremity of wet and unseasonable weather, (which it pleased God to send,) that in a few hours' rain the ways proved unpassable for our carriages; besides that, the narrowness of the ways (however represented by some gentlemen

of the country with the army) was found, upon conferring with others, to be such, as was altogether incompliant with the army's march, and would necessitate them to go many miles about; whereby it was not possible in any seasonable time to get to Affington that night. Whereupon unexpectedly the headquarters were appointed that night to be at Crediton, some six miles from Excester, where several of the enemy's horse came in to his excellency; informing him that Goring was gone from Okehampton towards Tavistock.

Friday, October 24, the army rested at Crediton (horse and man being much wearied out with the extreme wet weather, and their carriages broken); a council of war was called, whether it was fit to pursue the former resolution of straitening Excester on both sides. Whilst the business was in debate, lieutenant-general Cromwell happily came in; and the forces that were sent under his command to Basing and Winchester were by that time come to Hunniton.

This night the army received the good news of the lord Digby's and Langdale's being routed at Sherborne. The sum whereof was, that the lord Digby and sir Marmaduke Langdale, marching from Newark, by the king's appointment, with some 1600 horse, to join with Montrose in Yorkshire, as they passed by Doncaster, and so onwards, they beat up our quarters in several places, and near Sherborne took 800 of our men, (that drew out there to oppose them,) laying their arms on a great heap in the street of Sherborne, till they could get carriages to carry them away: but before they were so provided, colonel Copley, colonel Lilborne, and other commanders of Yorkshire, marching with all speed, came upon them, and routed them; recovered all our arms and men, took 400 of their men,

600 horse, many commanders and persons of quality; slew forty, amongst whom were sir Francis Carnaby and sir Richard Hutton; took Digby's coach, (and therein many letters and papers of great consequence,) divers colours, with much rich pillage.

Saturday, October 25, the business that was in debate the day before at a council of war was reassumed, and, after much dispute, it was resolved to march back with all our forces on the east of Ex, to possess Topsham, and settle strong quarters on that side, before they advanced any further west to relieve Plymouth. Not but that the general and his officers had that place much in their thoughts, but conceived it not fit to attempt it at this season.

The reasons inducing to this resolution were chiefly these, that nothing could be of that concernment, nor so conducing to the advantage of the kingdom, as the preserving of this army in an entire and healthful state for the future service thereof. And such was the sickly state of the army at this time, as called rather for some relaxation, than such extreme hard duty as the relief of Plymouth would have put them upon, especially if they should have stayed by it to make it good when they had done. Only to march thither and relieve the town (which the enemy had blocked up by divers regular and strong forts, well manned and furnished) was such an enterprise, as certainly required a more strong and healthy state of the army. And when the army had done this, should they have come back again for winter quarters, the enemy, so easily raised, might as quickly have sat down again, and so the relief of Plymouth would not have been one jot advanced. Or should the army have taken up their winter quarters in an enemy's country, (surrounded with strong garri-sons both before and behind them, besides a potent

enemy in the field, judged (upon the best intelligence) to be equal, if not superior to them in number of horse,) it is equally evident to what an imminent hazard the army must have been exposed thereby. And what need was there to put that toil upon the army, when his excellency and the council of war well understood (though much was suggested to the contrary) that such was the condition of Plymouth, that they wanted not either men, ammunition, or victuals, (having received plentiful provisions sent them by sea,) only were impatient to be set at liberty for trade.

This day a party of horse was sent out towards Oakhampton, to discover where the enemy was gone, who returned with intelligence that Tavistock was their headquarters.

Lord's day, October 26, the general, in pursuance of the resolution for Topsham, (after the forenoon sermon at Crediton,) marched with the army back to Silverton; two regiments went to Stoke, and those two regiments that were at Stoke advanced that day to Topsham, and three regiments of horse with them. This day intelligence came of the taking of Carmarthen by major-general Langhorn; the gaining of which town proved the reducing of that county; and that major-general Langhorn had treaty concerning the associating of three counties more, and had brought the same to good perfection.

Monday, October 27, the general and army reached Topsham; and that night the enemy fired the houses in the suburbs of Excester, to the number of about eighty, which sent many out of the city, complaining of the cruelty of the enemy: guards were kept that night within two miles of the city.

Tuesday, October 28, a council of war was called, to advise whether to put over forces (on the other side

the river Ex) to Affington, and to make a bridge over at Topsham, the better to hold a mutual correspondence between both sides, and what forces should be sent thither: great dispute was about the same, but at last it was resolved (though much against the mind of those gentlemen whose sufferings made them earnestly desire a siege on both sides) to wave the putting over of forces to the other side, and the making of a bridge (as which appeared) would be extremely difficult; and first to secure all on the east of Ex, before such time as they possessed any quarters on the other side; for to divide the army at that season of the year (to lie near so great a garrison upon duty, when already a sickness was amongst our soldiers) was, in the opinion of the general and the rest of the commanders, apprehended likely to ruin the army; and therefore it was resolved to make several garrisons, first on the east side of Ex, (along the Clysses river within three miles of Excester,) which being once finished, a few men might keep them, and hinder provisions from going into the city, and the whole army might thereby be at liberty to go on the other side to do the like afterwards: neither could the bridge have been defended, had it been made, with less than 2000 men, that must have quartered at Topsham, and gone near a mile to do duty at both ends of the bridge, (besides those other little bridges that must have been made upon the watery places beyond the river,) would have been such a duty in the winter time (especially where the enemy could not be hindered of his choice, with a great force to fall upon the one side or the other, which he pleased) as might have hazarded our forces. Accordingly, Bishop's-cliss, Poultimore, and Stoke were pitched upon to be made garrisons. Sir John Bampfild, a worthy member of the house of commons, first

giving his consent that his house in Poultimore might be made a garrison, in regard it was so much for the service in hand in the reducing of Excester. An engineer was sent to Bishop's-cliss to draw a line for fortifications about Bedford-house. The Lyme-regiment had the charge of these two garrisons, and colonel Hammond's regiment was to secure and fortify Stoke.

Wednesday 29. It was debated where the head-quarter should be this winter, whilst the army stayed on the east side, whether at Topsham or not; and upon debate, it was held fit to wave making Topsham a quarter at all, and that upon the same reason that moved the general to decline the making a bridge, and putting over forces on the other side: therefore upon this resolution, (waving Topsham,) the general having viewed the fort at Exmouth, (which stands upon the sands, and commands the passage at the mouth of the river,) sends away the train of artillery towards St. Mary Autree, and follows after himself, resolving to refresh his army, who never stood in more need of it, by laying them in the best and most convenient quarters he could.

This day his excellency heard from captain Moulton of the taking of Monmouth, (a considerable garrison,) and towards evening received intelligence by our spies, that Goring's horse, being near 5000, were come into the South-Hams, quartering at Totness, Newton-bushel, and as near as Chidley (the Hams being the only plentiful and unharassed part of Devonshire). As also, that Greenville was come with some fresh foot out of Cornwall to Okehampton.

At Autree, a trumpeter came to his excellency from his highness prince Charles, with a letter, desiring a pass for the lord Hopton and lord Culpepper to go to the king, upon a design of a mediation of peace between

the king and both houses of parliament; which being a matter of great concernment, the consideration thereof was put off to the next day, when the trumpeter was returned with a letter from the general to the prince, intimating, that it was no ways proper for the general to intermeddle with any propositions touching an accommodation between his majesty and the parliament, and therefore had sent his letter to the parliament, from whom his highness must expect an answer.

In the interim, a fair jewel, set with rich diamonds of very great value, was presented unto the general, by Mr. Ash, and some other members of parliament, in the name of both houses, as a signal of that great honour which God had done him, in the great service which, by God's assistance, he performed for this kingdom at Naseby battle; and, according to the commands of the parliament, they tied it in a blue riband, and put it about his neck.

About this time arrived at the army certain intelligence of a second defeat given the lord Digby and sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, by killing of 100 men, and the taking of 200 horse and many prisoners, among whom divers commanders, by sir John Brown, were reduced to so much lesser number; and were yet further extenuated, as they fled towards Beeston-castle, by colonel Briggs, who took 200 more of them; and yet further, for the ease of the ferryboat that carried Digby to the Isle of Man, reduced to the number of twenty, (besides some few great ones that escaped with him,) by major-general Vandrusk, who took 180 of them flying through Westmoreland. And here is the end of 1600 of the king's prime horse.

And with this came another piece, of the enemy's being routed, November 1, by lieutenant-colonel Jones and adjutant Louthian, where were above 100 slain,

and about 400 taken prisoners, among whom divers persons of quality; few of ours wounded, scarce any slain.

CHAPTER VI.

Several passages between the prince and his excellency, and between his excellency and Goring. Concerning Pouldrum. The enemy's preparations to relieve Excester, and ours to meet them, &c.

MOREOVER, during the army's stay at Autree, the general was acquainted, by a person of credit, with a desire of the lord Goring, sir John Berkeley, and others, to give his excellency a meeting; which was taken into consideration; and after consultation with the members of parliament then present, and divers officers, the general the next day thus expressed himself to the gentlemen that had signified the former desire; That if any thing came in writing from the lord Goring or sir John Berkeley to the aforesaid purpose, he would afford a meeting. Upon this intimation, the next day came a trumpeter from the lord Goring, with a letter to the general in these words:

SIR,

I have understood, by a person of honour and quality, of your readiness to have a meeting with some of the general officers of both armies, and some others; wherein there will be a necessity of settling some circumstances, for the avoiding of all mistakes. I have instructed colonel Seroop and colonel Philips in the particulars thereof; and therefore shall desire that you will be pleased to grant them a safeconduct for themselves and two servants, to go to your quarters, and return.

Your humble servant,

EXCESTER, November 12, 1645.

GEO. GORING.

This did put both the officers and members of par-

liament there upon serious deliberation afresh; and in issue this answer was returned by the general:

MY LORD,

According to your lordship's desire, I have sent you here-with a safeconduct for colonel Scroop and colonel Philips to come to my headquarter, where I shall be ready to receive them to morrow. I am

Your lordship's humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

One main and principal reason inducing his excellency (and approved by those he consulted with) to grant the safeconduct, was, for that it might likely increase the discontent (or jealousy at least) between Greenville and the lord Goring's faction, if it were noised that Goring came out to treat without the privacy of Greenville—for any better effect of the treaty was not expected—his excellency understanding privately, that which they intended to offer was in such a nature as was not proper for the army to meddle with.

Colonel Scroop and colonel Philips, upon this safeconduct, the next day came to the headquarter at Autree, but coming somewhat late, had not access that night to the general, but were entertained by some of the colonels of the army until the next day, when they were presented to the general, who (before such time as they began to say any thing of their errand to him) declared himself to them in this effect: That if they had any thing to say concerning the surrender of Excester, on the disbanding of armies, or any thing else which was belonging to the general, as a soldier, to take notice of, he would hear them, otherwise he could not. And this was no more than was intimated unto them before they came by commissary-general Ireton, colonel Pickering, and the judge-advo-

cate: whereupon they answered, that the instructions that they had were in order to a general peace: to which was replied, That that was proper to the cognizance of the parliament; therefore the general, as a soldier, (and the parliament's servant,) without their leave, would not say any thing to it. Whereupon the next day they returned back unto Excester, much unsatisfied. The general easily perceiving the drift of their intentions was, to have had both armies engage themselves to force both king and parliament to conditions.

And no sooner did the general satisfy himself in the scope of these overtures from the prince and the lord Goring, but, by an express sent up to the parliament and the committee of both kingdoms, he was most careful to give them an account thereof, and how he had entertained the same; which, it seems, was but needful, this army not wanting enemies every where, to give an ill representation of their actions.

But to return from whence I have digressed. From Saturday, November 15, to Tuesday, December 2, the general continued at Autree, riding about sometimes, to see the finishing of the works at Broad-cliss and Poultimore, and disposing of the quarters for the foot, who were sick in most places, there dying of soldiers and inhabitants in the town of Autree, seven, eight, and nine a day, for several weeks together, insomuch that it was not held safe for the headquarter to be continued there any longer. Colonel Pickering, that pious, active gentleman, that lived so much to God and his country, and divers other officers, died of the new disease in that place; six of the general's own family were sick of it at one time, and throughout the foot regiments half the soldiers: yet notwithstanding, at this very time, did the army undergo very hard cen-

asures by some, for not being in action. But so long as conscience and judgment was satisfied, that if the season of the year and the abilities of men's bodies would have admitted a march, it should have been most willingly embraced, and that it was only the Divine providence that had awarded otherwise, the army had the less cause to take notice of other men's opinions, especially when the parliament had (by vote) left the general at liberty to dispose of his army as he should see cause.

But whosoever would have me proceed in my story, must give me leave first to weep a while this sorrowful verse over dear colonel Pickering's hearse :

Anagr. { JOHANNES PICKERING.
IN GOD I RECKON HAPPINESS.

Vain all our proffer'd ransoms are,
There's no discharge in the grave's war :
Wellⁿ they may show, yet they cannot,
What a brave captive death hath got.
Only t'amuse our discontent,
(For passion kills, that has no vent :)
Might thy wish'd presence find excuse,
(Of whom we made too little use,)
We'd ask, (swift poster,) whose^o great haste
Was ne'er before the kingdom's waste,
Why posts thou from's? Because we^p rest,
Which suited not thy active breast?
Did that *antiperistasis*
Fire thy fine spirits to thy bliss?
Must thou be scaling heaven alone,
For want of other action?
Would thou hadst took that leisure time
To visit some responsal clime.

ⁿ Proffered ransoms.

^o He had done the kingdom great service, by riding between England and Scotland before these troubles.

^p The army rested then some time at Autree.

Or, must hard^q censures, (void of love,)
Be expiate by thy remove?
Or, covetous, couldst thou not stay
For wages, till the end o' th' day?
Or could no vantage mend thy stature,
(To see our triumphs) under nature^s?
But 'tis in vain to ravel more,
We've nothing but thy name t' adore:
That oracle gives the best guess,
Wherein we hear thee thus profess,
In God I reckon happiness.

The enemy was much encouraged by the sickness of our army, and was confident (as by their letters, which afterwards were intercepted, did appear) it had in a great measure weakened, and would consume the army to nothing: whereupon they were much animated to raise new forces under the command of his highness prince Charles, (the lord Goring having some few days before taken shipping at Dartmouth for France, to fetch over some fresh forces against the spring, leaving the command of his horse, in his absence, to the lord Wentworth,) and to that purpose sent out proclamations for the counties of Cornwall and Devon to rise in arms, and to go in person with the prince, for that his highness was resolved to march in person upon the head of them, making no question (as by their letters we did understand) to make our forces rise from the east side Excester, and enforce our retreat. And indeed his excellency had certain intelligence that the enemy had an army very considerable, having drawn several foot and horse from their quarters before Ply-

^q The army was unworthily censured at that time, as is observed before in the story.

^r He was a little man, but of a great courage.

^s nature, i. e. the heavens.

mouth, whereunto they received some addition in foot from Dartmouth and Barnstable, which with the considerable recruits of foot that Greenville, with most extreme and industrious cruelty, had raised and brought out of Cornwall, did make a body of 9 or 10,000 horse and foot, then quartering about Tavistock, and upon the edge of Cornwall, and also at Okehampton, where were 2000 of their foot, (besides horse,) commanded by sir Richard Greenville.

Yet a few days the general continued at Autree, but resolved forthwith to remove (in regard the disease increased so fast) to Tiverton, which place was agreed on to be an headquarter, which resolution was actuated on Saturday, the general having first received intelligence from captain Farmer, of a bark, laden with commodities of good value, going for France, from Excester, taken by him between Topsham and the fort.

Lord's day, December 7, a council of war was called, where it was propounded, that in regard the garrisons of Nutwell, Broad-Cliss, Poultimore, and Stoke, were now made tenable against any sudden assault of the enemy, and possessed by the forces of Lyme, some foot of major-general Massy's, and some new raised regiments of the county, whereby Excester was perfectly straitened upon the east side, (being by those garrisons made incapable either to annoy the country or relieve themselves on this side,) and in regard that now it would be convenient to remove our foot beyond the river, in order both to the straitening of Excester on that side, and to the hindering the enemy's recruiting of his forces, which at this instant he was strongly endeavouring; that some regiments should be sent to Crediton, a place that stood in a good air, which likely would much conduce to the health of our soldiers, and lay conveniently for a strong quarter upon the west

side of the river: which force was sent under the command of sir Hardress Waller, a gentleman faithful, and well able and ready to undergo that charge; but lest the enemy, upon the advance of our foot thither, should fire the town, (as they had often threatened,) a party of horse and dragoons were sent all night to get possession of the town till the foot could get up to them. The next morning, being Monday December 8, the dragoons were there by daybreak, but by reason of the extremity of the weather the foot could not get to Crediton till Tuesday December 9, on which day the horse and dragoons gave them possession of the town; which within two or three days after became the more useful to us, by the general's going thither to order a design in hand against Pouldrum-house, by water and land, which, being on Friday December 12, was immediately put in execution, only one day intervening; which brought intelligence of the taking of Latham-house, in Lancashire, with eight pieces of ordnance, six murdering pieces, 500 arms, and proportionable ammunition: as also of the king's propositions to the parliament for peace, and of his letter at the same time to prince Rupert against peace.

The design against Pouldrum-house was this, and thus carried: Lord's day, December 14, nine of the clock at night, captain Deane (the comptroller of the ordnance) was commanded over Ex with 200 foot and dragoons, to possess Pouldrum-castle, but the enemy had some few hours before got 150 men into it, unto those that were there before, which our men not discovering before they had landed, would not return without attempting something. The church at Pouldrum being not far distant from the castle, they resolved to possess and make the best of it, and accordingly did so, and the next morning they got provisions

from Nutwell-house unto them into the church, and began to fortify the same. The enemy at Excester, much startled hereat, fearing the castle would be lost, as well as the river blocked up by the fortifying of this church, sent therefore, on Monday the 15th, a party of 500 foot, who joining with 200 from the castle assaulted our men about seven at night, threw in many hand granadoes amongst them, and so continued storming till ten, but were beaten off with much loss, leaving their dead on the place, and carrying with them many wounded, as appeared by the snow, that was much stained with their blood as they retreated.

In this service captain Farmer (captain of dragoons) commanded our men, who as they were beyond expectation happy in their success, (not one man being lost in the storm,) so they were resolved to continue in their duty; and notwithstanding the extremity of the cold, by reason of the great frost and snow, and want of all means to resist or qualify the same in the church, having no firing there, they would not quit the same till they received orders so to do: which hard service (hard in every respect) although they were not immediately discharged of, yet the next day sir Hardress Waller marched from Crediton with a strong party to Exminster to alarm the enemy, that he might not make a second attempt upon them, till they had fortified the place, or were recalled: which action of sir Hardress Waller took that effect as was desired; the enemy being so amazed, that they durst not march out that day, as they had purposed, to attempt the church again, lest our men should get between them and home; and God having blessed the means to their preservation hitherto, the general, considering further the bitter coldness of the weather, and the hardness of the duty they would necessarily be put unto, if they should

make good the church, sent orders to them to draw off, which that they might do with the more safety, two regiments were appointed to draw down and alarm the enemy on that side Excester, while they made good their retreat over the river; by means whereof, on Wednesday December 17, the comptroller and captain Farmer brought off the men very safe, with their arms and ammunition, the enemy making no sally out of the castle upon them, though otherwise they had a fair opportunity to have fallen on them. And these soldiers thus happily delivered, and thus honourably come off, were rewarded with proportions out of the prize taken by captain Farmer below Apsham at the general's command.

But the enemy drawing more force to Okehampton, two regiments more were sent to Crediton, December 18, to assist those that were placed there before. The same day colonel Okey with a party of dragoons fell upon the enemy at the lord Chichester's house, took a captain, twelve prisoners, nineteen horses, and returned back to his new formed garrison at Fulford-house without the loss of a man. Also information being given that the house of one Mr. Davis at Cannonteen, (being within four miles of Excester,) stood convenient for a garrison, and might bear an useful proportion towards the blocking up of Excester, and hindering of provision from the Southams, some more of colonel Okey's dragoons were ordered thither to possess the same, who accordingly went and fulfilled their orders, December 21, and were no longer in the house, but Monday, December 22, in the morning, the enemy sent a force against it, who stormed the house, burnt the outhouses; yet captain Woggan, who commanded the dragoons, behaved himself so gallantly, that he beat the enemy off, killed four, despe-

rately wounded a lieutenant-colonel, and took divers prisoners.

Tuesday, December 23, his excellency had intelligence of the enemy's intention to march with their army to relieve Excester, and of their preparation of provisions to that end.

December 25th, or thereabouts, his excellency had animadversion from the committee of both kingdoms, of incursions made by the king's horse from Oxford into the adjacent parts, doing much mischief thereby; whereupon the regiment of colonel Rainsborough (then before Corfe-castle) was commanded to march from thence to Abingdon, and colonel Fleetwood with the general's, his own, and colonel Whaley's regiments, and six troops of dragoons, was sent also to lie about Islip, to attend the motion of the king's horse, and guard the associated counties, as also in relation to the straitening of Oxford.

Friday, December 26, the general had advertisement from Plymouth, of the enemy's actuating their intentions, advancing in a great body towards the relief of Excester, (as they conceived,) which intelligence was also confirmed by several of our spies: whereupon a council of war was called, wherein it was adjudged expedient to be in a fighting posture, to receive them if they advanced; and accordingly such resolution was taken up; to which they saw the more cause to adhere, by another spy which came to them the next day with tidings to the same effect; particularizing moreover, that the prince was to be in person in the head of the army, to countenance the Cornish, and that they would put all upon his cast of relieving Excester. Most of the enemy's horse were sent the next (being the Lord's) day, to Okehampton, which quickened the army unto a resolution of a rendezvous between that

and Crediton on the Monday, which was made good accordingly; the horse and some foot being drawn up at Cadbury-hill, some four miles from Crediton: but upon assurance there that the enemy did not stir from Okehampton, and for that the weather was bitter cold, and the ground so slippery that horses could not well march, (and for other causes,) it was held fit to take up quarters thereabouts. Yet it was observed that this readiness and motion of the army checked the enemy's further advance; the army took time to make provisions for a continued march, by carriages on horseback, these parts admitting no other.

Tuesday passed with the good news of the surrender of Skipton-castle in Yorkshire; the same day the enemy appointed a rendezvous again; but the extreme hard weather rendering it impossible for our horse to march, (unless they were all frosted in an extraordinary manner,) kept us still in our quarters.

The next day was delivered into our hands a messenger of the prince's, going to Excester for arms for the prince his person, who was come to Dartmouth, when also his excellency had intelligence that some forces for his majesty's service were to be sent over by the lord Goring out of France, and to land at Dartmouth.

Saturday, January 3, the blocking up of Excester was so much further endeavoured by the addition of sir George Chidley's house at Ashton to the garrisons which were possessed by our forces, the better to stop provisions from going into Excester.

The next, being Lord's day, brought good news from Plymouth, viz. that they had taken two works, and a church from the enemy, at St. Budeaux, and therein 105 prisoners, besides twenty officers, but withal, that the enemy intended to demand satisfaction for the same

of us, and were for that end advancing with a considerable strength to relieve Excester.

CHAPTER VII.

The slackening of the siege of Excester, by the army's advance to meet the enemy, (leaving only a force to block up the city,) with their great success in those two actions. The defeat of the enemy at Bovey-Tracy, and the taking of Dartmouth; with a particular account of their marches and lesser passages.

UPON this certain and renewed intelligence, on the morrow, (viz. Monday January 5,) a private consultation was had, and divers officers of the army sought counsel of Heaven that day, (keeping it as a private day of humiliation,) in answer whereto God inclined their hearts to resolve of an advance. The next day, a public council of war was called, and (that the former resolution might appear to be the answer of God) it was in this public council resolved, *nemine contradicente*, to advance into the South-Hams, where the greatest part of the enemy lay. The dragoons from Cannonteen were beforehand with this resolution, who this day fell into the enemy's quarters, took a captain, nine men, and twenty horse. And that this purpose to advance might find the less interruption, the same day, the stockings and shoes (which the poor foot had so great need of, and had so long expected) came to Tiverton most seasonably, to fit them for a march; wherewith they were so well satisfied, as that they showed much forwardness to march, without staying for clothes, which they had great need of also, being many of them all to tatters, and the weather was extreme cold to boot. While the army was preparing to march, some of our dragoons from petty garrisons, on Wednesday, snatched at the enemy at Huick, took

a lieutenant, ten prisoners, twenty-two horses, and one of their colours, with this motto, *Patientia victrix*.

Thursday, January 8, all things being prepared in readiness for a march, the horse and foot (with their ammunition on horseback) advanced to Crediton; and at the same time sir Hardress Waller with two regiments marched from Crediton to Bow^t, as if the army had bent towards Okehampton, (where the enemy had both horse and foot,) when as indeed it was only to amuse them. For at the same instant, a brigade of horse and foot marched that night to Crediton, and the next day (though very cold, and much snow upon the ground) the same brigade marched to Bovey-Tracy, (then the enemy's quarters,) lieutenant-general Cromwell going in person with them, who about six at night fell into their quarters at Bovey; (where part of the lord Wentworth's brigade then lay,) took about 400 horse, seven colours, one of them the king's colours, with a crown, and *C. R.* upon it. The enemy in Bovey were put to their shifts; yet through the darkness of the night, most of the men escaped, except a major and some few officers more, and about fifty prisoners. It was almost supper time with them when our men entered the town, most of them at that instant were playing at cards, but our soldiers took up the stakes for many of their principal officers, who, being together in one room, threw their stakes of money out at the window, which whilst our soldiers were scrambling for they escaped out at a back door

^t At this place sir Hardress Waller was engaged with a party of the enemy's horse and dragoons, where he slew many of them, took sixty prisoners, forty horse, and gave an alarm to the enemy on all that side the country, whilst the army in the mean time did the following action at Bovey-Tracy.

over the river, and saved their best stakes. In the mean time his excellency with another part of the army was advanced from Tiverton to Morton, within three miles of Bovey; but part of the carriage-horses with the ammunition, by reason of the frost, could get no nearer than Fulford.

The next day, (the weather still extreme bitter cold,) the forces at Morton and at Bovey-Tracy had a rendezvous near Bovey, whereat intelligence was brought by the country that about 120 of those that escaped in the night were got into Ellington church: whereupon a party of horse and foot were commanded after them, which the enemy in the church understanding, fled away. The army marched that night towards Ashburton, the enemy's headquarter the night before. A party of horse was sent to see if the enemy had quit the town, (as his excellency had intelligence they had done,) who finding the enemy at the town's end, were engaged with them, beat the enemy's rearguard through the town, took nine men and twenty horse, and enforced the rest of their horse to fly several ways, being two regiments of the lord Wentworth's brigade, (that were left of five,) two of them being taken at Bovey-Tracy.

Lord's day, January 11, the general, after that by spies he had sent intelligence to Plymouth of the retreat of the enemy, marched with the army to Totness, (where the enemy had a foot quarter, but upon our advance quitted it,) leaving one regiment at Ashburton. This Totness seems to be one of the finest of an inland town in Devonshire, and many of the inhabitants rich. A party was sent from hence towards Dartmouth, to discover what scattered forces of the enemy's might be gone that way. This party brought in some officers prisoners, who seemed to be well apaid with their lot, say-

ing, it was well they were taken, for they had nowhere to go to, but the sea.

Monday, January 12, the general, taking special care to uphold the courage of Plymouth, having sent (for more surety, lest the former messengers should fail) another messenger, to give them notice of the enemy's retreat, gave orders for two regiments to be drawn before Dartmouth^u. And at the same time strong parties of horse were sent towards Tavistock after the enemy, which the enemy apprehending to be the van of our army, supposing our army following after them, with great distraction and fear, quit the siege before Plymouth, leaving their forts undemolished, with seven pieces of ordnance and four barrels of powder, making great haste over the river Tamar into Cornwall.

In the meanwhile a summons was sent in to Dartmouth, honourable conditions offered in the same, but rejected by the governor; forces were commanded upon the guard within half a mile of the town all night, who encountered with extreme bitter cold weather and snow, yet were most cheerful upon duty, as they went readily unto it. The next day the general and the officers went to take a more particular view of the town; it was the joint opinion of them all, that they might carry the same by storm. The enemy, according to their wonted manner, not sparing to take or destroy any thing, whereby they might advantage

^u About this time those regiments of foot under colonel Hammond, that were assigned to quarter at the town, which was scarce able to afford them victuals, (having caught little fish of six weeks before,) was by a wonderful, and indeed no less than miraculous providence supplied, and furnished to them by such great draughts of mullets, which God was pleased to send in, in that abundance at that time, as the like had not been known before, whereby both town and army was plentifully provided for.

themselves, and disadvantage us, burnt Mr. Plumley's house, and therein 400 bushels of corn threshed, and as much unthreshed. In order to a storm, more forces were ordered to march to assist those before Dartmouth. By lying three or four cold days before it, we lost nothing but a little time; for by that stay captain Batten (being desired by the general) was come before the haven with a squadron of ships to assist by sea, and to keep any of their ships from going out of the harbour while we stormed by land. Thursday the 15th, the country (upon orders) brought in ladders: the comptroller was sent aboard captain Batten for some seamen, received 200, and allotted them a post to do duty. Friday the 16th, the general himself took an account in what readiness things were for a storm. More particular intelligence (to that which came before) was given out of the town, what condition they were in there; good guides were sent for from Plymouth, that were captain Roope's men, and had been formerly inhabitants of Dartmouth, to direct our men the best way into the town upon the storm. Saturday the 17th, the general went again to view the town: all things were concluded on for a storm, and lots cast for every man, who should fall on first, and who to come on as reserves: the officers of all the regiments viewed their several posts, and every man provided his guides.

Lord's day, the 18th, Mr. Del in the morning and Mr. Peters in the evening exhorted the soldiers to their duty; (for Mr. Bowles, who had formerly attended the service of the army, being called to his charge at York, had taken his leave of his excellency, Mr. Del succeeding in his room.) The soldiers were all drawn out; about seven at night forlorn hopes were set; the evening very mild, as at midsummer,

the frost being newly gone: the word was given, *God with us*; the signal of the soldiers was, their shirts out before and behind. About eleven o'clock at night the storm begun; and after the enemy had discharged once, our men got under their cannon, and quickly possessed them, and turned them against the enemy; for the army had no pieces at all of their own, the way and weather not admitting any to be drawn against that place, where there were 100 pieces ready mounted against them (a strange and unparalleled undertaking). The commanders of every party possessed those places they were designed unto: lieutenant-colonel Pride, who led on colonel Harlowe's regiment, possessed Mount-Boon, wherein were twenty-two pieces of ordnance. Colonel Hammond possessed the west-gate, wherein were four pieces of ordnance, and two in the flanker; colonel Fortescue gained Tunstal church, with twelve pieces of ordnance; and so we became masters of the whole town, and the old castle, in which were five great iron guns which commanded the river. In all, our men possessed themselves of about sixty pieces of ordnance in the storm, among which one brass demi-cannon. And such was even the miraculous goodness of God in this storm, that we lost but one man, and had very few wounded, notwithstanding they plied most fiercely both great and small shot upon our men from the forts. The storm succeeding so well, the comptroller of the ordnance was sent to summon two men of war which lay in the river, which no sooner received the summons, but they yielded immediately. There were two great forts, wherein were about thirty-four pieces of ordnance, which stood a mile from the town, not taken with the rest, that beat a parley three hours together before they were heard; but in issue, sir Henry Cary,

who was in one of them, had conditions to march away, he and his officers with arms, the governor, and lord Newport, &c., being in the other fort, were refused the like conditions, and submitted themselves to mercy.

I should have enlarged the more upon the action of this storm, but that I find a letter of the general's to the house of peers concerning the same, which is more worthy to be heard itself, as followeth :

MY LORDS,

After my coming to Totness, the enemy rising in great disorder from their siege at Plymouth, leaving their guns and some ammunition behind them, I considered with those about me, of attempting upon Dartmouth; and it being concluded affirmatively, I caused two regiments of foot to march to Ditsam, and two to Stoke-Flemming, being on the west side of Dart river. I having summoned the place before, resolved upon Sunday night to attempt it by storm, which was agreed to be done in three places; the first post was on the west-gate, by colonel Hammond; on the north end of the town, by lieutenant-colonel Pride; and on Tunstal church and works, by colonel Fortescue. The time resolved upon was in the evening: our men fell on with great resolution, to whom colonel Lambert's regiment was a reserve, and to alarm the enemy elsewhere. Colonel Hammond entered the west-gate, where four guns were planted, and two upon the mill pool, upon his flank (the enemy firing his great guns but once). His men that had the forlorn hope did very gallantly, (as indeed they did all,) and went freely on, and beat off the enemy, and possessed one fort after another, viz. Mount-Flaggon the west gate, Paradise-fort, and beat off the mainguard, where were taken four lieutenant-colonels; and so possessed the town from the west-gate to Little-Dartmouth. In the interim, lieutenant-colonel Pride attempted the north part of the town, called Harness; where beating off the enemy, he entered, and took about eighty prisoners in it, and by it possessed all the north part of the town unto the drawbridge, which divided the north part from the rest of the town;

where colonel Hammond's men and his met. Colonel Fortescue with his men attempted Tunstal church, which was very well manned, with above 100 men, and having in it ten guns: his men, after some dispute, with good resolution entered the place, and possessed it. So that by this time the enemy was beaten out of all, except the great fort on the east side of the river, called Kingsworth-fort, and the castle, with the fort that lay over the castle at the mouth of the harbour, called Gallant's-bower; to which last the governor and the earl of Newport, and as many as escaped us, fled. After they were forced from their strengths out of the town, the governor coming back from the castle, to see in what posture the town was, had a remarkable shot as he was in the boat; a musket shot was made at the boat, which pierced the boat, and both the thighs of one that sat next to him, and about three inches into his own thigh; whereupon he retreated to the castle. Our dragoons, with two companies of our firelocks, and some seamen, were only to alarm Kingsworth-fort, wherein was sir Henry Cary with his regiment, having in it twelve guns and twelve barrels of powder, and convenient proportion of ammunition. This was a very strong fort, with about four good bulwarks, strong enough to make a troublesome resistance: but the enemy came willingly to terms; and to save time, I willingly condescended to let sir Henry Cary march away with the rest, leaving the arms, ordnance, ammunition, with all provisions in the fort to me, and all engaging themselves never to take up arms more against the parliament; which was accordingly performed. Next morning, being thus master of all but the castle and Gallant's-bower, I summoned that: the governor was willing to listen unto me; but I held him to those terms upon which after some dispute he yielded; which was, to deliver himself and all officers and soldiers upon quarter. He sent me out colonel Seymour and master Denham for hostages, with whom came out the earl of Newport, and all was this day performed accordingly. In this fort and castle were eleven guns, with proportion of ammunition and provisions: we have taken in the harbour two men of war; one belonging to the governor of Barnstable, with twelve guns, burden 200 tons; the other

belonging to Newcastle, formerly captain Johnson's, of ten guns.

In the town, 103 pieces of ordnance, and about 600 prisoners, and 100 horse, with good proportion of arms and ammunition, an exact particular whereof I am not able to give your lordships at present.

There being many of the town, soldiers in Plymouth, and some officers, and understanding that that town hath 2500 in garrison, besides townsmen, I have sent thither for 500 foot for this place, who quickly will increase to more; and to this I desire your approbation; for having found more work to do, I held it not fit to weaken my army, especially considering the recruits designed by you, I doubt, will be too long before they come.

I have given your lordships a brief account of this service, which I desire may be accounted a sweet mercy of God, in a fitting season, and only ascribed to Him, who (truly) did direct and act it, and made all the preparation to it, both in the ordering our hearts, and giving health to the army, who laboured two months ago extremely of sickness, but is now in good disposition generally to health. I can say I find it to be in the hearts of all here in all integrity to serve you; and that it is so, is still the mercy of God: for surely the success of your affairs only depends upon the ordering of a gracious Providence; which is no less visible in your counsels (which we congratulate) than amongst us; that being the common root and spring of all, and which can and will carry you through the greatest difficulties, and us in serving you, until God hath finished his own work. Wherein to profess the obligation and readiness of myself and the army, by the same good hand of God, is all the undertaking of,

Your lordships' most humble servant,

DARTMOUTH, Jan. 20, 1645.

THO. FAIRFAX.

Prisoners taken at Dartmouth: sir Hugh Pollard, governor; earl of Newport; colonel Seymour; lieutenant-colonels, four; majors, two; captains, fifteen; lieutenants, fourteen; ensigns, nine; and one cornet; besides many country-gentlemen, ministers, and infe-

rior officers. All the common soldiers, being betwixt 800 and 1000, were set at liberty to repair to their dwellings. Ordnance, about 120, mounted; and two men of war in the harbour.

After our men were entered the town, they had extreme wet weather, which continued so the next day that it much hindered the settling of the town. Monday the 19th, sir Henry Cary marched out of the fort with all his officers and soldiers, leaving the ordnance, arms, and ammunition therein to us. Some time was spent this day in the disposing of the prisoners. The engineer, being a papist, (as the implements that he had about him did declare, viz. the mass-book, cope, hood, and surplice, which were found in his chamber,) was in danger to have been torn in pieces by the women of the town, for his cruelty in burning of houses, and other villainous acts. Tuesday, the 20th, the guns were cleared. The general went aboard captain Batten's ship, where he was nobly entertained. All the Cornishmen that were prisoners were set at liberty, and had two shillings a man, to carry them home; that the Cornish might see we had forgot former injuries, and respected them as much as any other county. Commissioners were appointed to dispose of the prize goods taken in the town, towards the reparation of the well-affected of the town, that suffered at the storm, who had the greatest part of the goods distributed amongst them.

And now the general, having reaped so great and happy an advantage by his digression from the siege of Excester, (though he left sufficient force also to block it up,) the next day, without any more delay, returned to Totness; issued out warrants to 400, to appear there on Saturday at nine of the clock, in order to the service of the kingdom, and particularly for the good of those parts.

PART IV.

CHAPTER I.

The army returning to the siege at Excester, Pouldram-castle surrendered.

A French vessel struck into Dartmouth, wherein letters of consequence from the queen. How far the reducing of Excester was endeavoured before a second diversion.

HIS excellency and the conduct of this army, (in all their motion attending Providence,) having answered the call of God in rising from Excester, and meeting the enemy, (wherein they found that great assistance and success that hath been related,) now discerning no further advantage offering itself against the field-enemy at present, his excellency, with the advice of his officers, resolves with all speed possible to return with the army to the siege of Excester, and to improve the advantage of that further reputation their late successes had given them, in vigorous endeavours against that place; and in the mean time, till the other forces could follow, some regiments marched toward Excester, a summons was sent to sir Edmund Fortescue, governor of Charles'-fort at Salcomb; from whence a refusal of surrender was returned, and consultation was had about Barnstaple.

Saturday, January 24, the country, according to appointment of his excellency, appeared at Totness, in number about 3000, out of whom, upon consultation with the committees, a regiment was to be raised of such as were willing under colonel Fowell: which done, the general marched to the lady Reynolds her house,

whence on the Lord's day, after forenoon's sermon, his excellency marched to Chidley, endeavouring first to take a view of Pouldram; before which place colonel Hammond was set down with some force. But night coming on (whilst he had yet two miles thither) he was forced to return to Chidley without viewing the castle, which ere the next day was happily put out of a capacity of being viewed by him (but in a new relation); for about twelve at night, the news came to him of the surrender thereof, and therein five barrels of powder, match and bullet proportionable, and four pieces of ordnance.

Monday, the 26th, tidings were brought the general of a French vessel that came from France with a packet from the queen, which was struck into Dartmouth, presuming it to have still been in the hands of the king's forces: and indeed little likelihood was there that it should be in any other, especially so suddenly, and at a time of year so unseasonable for action or storm, but that God encouraged the army to undertake it, and his strong arm prospered them in their attempt. The vessel being thus delivered by immediate providence into our hands, the packet of letters was yet more strangely preserved and recovered out of the sea, whereinto it was thrown, when they knew their mistake, (according to the queen's directions,) but God provided a wave to bring it to the boat that was sent out to seek it, and so it was brought unto his excellency; wherein was found letters from the queen, lord Goring, lord Jermyn, Davenant, and others, intercepted: some of the contents were these:

The queen by her letters in answer to some former letters she had received, touching the king's intentions of transporting the prince to Denmark, utterly dislikes it, and neither approves of Holland or Flanders; ad-

viseth the bringing of him into France. And as touching his marriage with the duke of Orleans' daughter, which seemed to be an objection against it, she replied, that they knew she was engaged elsewhere; and what if he should marry her? the duchess of Orleans so far exceeding them in riches and potent alliances might be of great assistance to the king. But desires, that he may be disposed of any whither, rather than to come into the hands of the rebels: touching the Scots' affairs, she had this expression; that she had sent Will. Murray fully instructed with her mind about it.

The lord Goring in his letter to the lord Wentworth and sir John Berkeley gave them assurance, that now the negotiation with France was happily concluded by the industry of the lord Jermyn.

In his letter to sir Hugh Pollard, the governor of Dartmouth, he doth assure him, that by the first of March he should have five well appointed men of war, of the second rank, the least bearing above thirty pieces of ordnance, to be solely under his command, so that he might grow rich upon the spoil of the rebels, or else put them to the charge of keeping a whole navy before him.

The lord Widdrington, not so well satisfied with the preparations of France, useth this expression in one of his letters; that he gave all hopes for lost, for ever returning to his own country again, except the business of the Scots took effect.

But as to the siege of Excester, our forces being drawn near unto this side of the city, a summons was prepared, wherein honourable conditions were offered them; which summons was sent in the next day, being January the 17th. Whereunto on the morrow an answer was returned very fair to this purpose, that

in honour they could not surrender upon the terms offered, while they were in no worse condition, and had such probable hopes of relief from the prince.

Thursday, the 29th, a reply was returned, the conditions reinforced, and further urged, by undertaking in the behalf of the parliament and general, that what they promised in the summons should be made good: and this is as far as they proceeded at this time; being a second time diverted by other action; for news came this day to the army, that the enemy's horse from Oxford were come near Corfe-castle, and the lord Goring's forces were advanced up near Barnstaple, portending a design to join together; to prevent which, the general went from Chidley to Tiverton, to give order about that point, sent colonel Cook from thence with three regiments of horse of major-general Massey's brigade, to attend the enemy's motion, and the next day some regiments of horse and dragoons marched from these parts to a rendezvous, toward the north of Devon, though upon second advice they were recalled to quarters.

The fear of another diversion from the siege of Excester had almost driven the army to a resolution of storming it, insomuch that warrants were issued out to all the hundreds round about Excester for ladders, and also a despatch to Plymouth to send their scaling-ladders for that purpose: which disposition of the army, what influence it might have upon the enemy, I know not: but the Lord's day, February 1, a lieutenant and ten horse well armed, came in to sir Hardress Waller from the enemy, and that night the Plymouth regiment took a major and twenty horse near Barnstaple; and, Tuesday following, a lieutenant-colonel and fifteen men more, with their arms, came in from the enemy; the general in the mean time being returned to Chidley.

Thursday, the 5th, upon intelligence of the enemy's horse being gone towards Dunster, colonel Cook, who had orders to march somewhat further eastward, in order to the checking of the Oxford horse, that by information from the east, were to be in Dorsetshire, had orders to return.

Friday, the 6th, came news that a party of horse of the enemy (computed by the country's information 1500) had put some small relief into Dunster, taking that opportunity when those forces that attended thereabout were drawn toward Corfe-castle: in their retreat the country, with the assistance of colonel Blake's forces, that were not able to oppose so great a body, and therefore during relief secured themselves in a strong house, fell upon their rear, slew some, took others prisoners, and disarmed more. The same day the army received the good news of Belvoyr surrendered. And now follows to discourse how the hand of Providence led us first into the north of Devon, and then into Cornwall: only first celebrate that good news of the surrender of Westchester, after a long siege, by that faithful and indefatigable commander sir William Brereton, which news came to the general on the Lord's day, February 8.

CHAPTER II.

Our army a second time diverted from the siege of Excester; with a particular account of the reasons thereof; and the motion and actions of the army occasioned thereby.

LORD'S day, February 8, a council of war was called to consider of marching with part of the army into the north of Devonshire, towards Torrington and Barn-

staple, for the straitening thereof, and for the better conveniency of quarter, the army being much straitened for provisions where they were, as also to possess those parts, and thereby dispossess the enemy, who had some parties of horse there, which miserably oppressed the country: whilst they were in this consultation, certain intelligence was brought by spies, that the enemy, who had been labouring, as for life, to raise the Cornish, and had brought a considerable number to Launceston, to reinforce their army, (being in all about 4000 foot, besides their horse,) were once more with all their strength marching over the river Tamar towards Torrington, and, as the spies informed, would be there on Tuesday night: likewise letters from the lord Wentworth to sir John Berkeley, governor of Excester, being at the same time intercepted, encouraging him to expect relief shortly. Upon this, orders were given for the drawing of most of the horse and foot to a rendezvous the next day.

Monday, February 9, a council of war was called, to advise what to do, and in issue it was resolved to advance towards the enemy with part of the army, having already with the residue perfectly blocked up Excester on the west side also, by settling guards and quarters at Affington, Barley-house, and Peymouth-house, within a mile of the city, and a garrison kept at Powdram; besides that some of the foot under the command of colonel Shapcoat, blocked up the fort at Exmouth; by which means Excester was now completely straitened and blocked up on both sides. Accordingly, orders were immediately sent to the horse and foot to prepare for a march, and the forces designed on both sides of Excester to straiten that place were commanded to receive orders from sir Hardress Waller, to whose care and judgment the management of that business was recom-

mended, whilst the rest of the army advanced to the enemy.

Tuesday, February 10, the general and the army begun their march, and that day marched from Chidley to Crediton, the headquarter, where the army rested a day, till the treasure (that was at Dartmouth) was come up, and other forces that were to march from other quarters were drawn up to them: the while, fresh intelligence was brought to his excellency, that the enemy, with 5000 horse and 4000 foot, were come to Torrington, expecting 1000 horse and foot from Barnstaple to join with them, all under the command of the lord Hopton, who by a new commission was made commander-in-chief (the lord Goring being in France); who had used much expedition in his march, having marched in one day from Stratton to Torrington, being eighteen large miles: they brought along with them much cattle and sheep, which with salt and other provisions that were to come from Barnstaple, were for the relief of Excester. This intelligence fully resolving the army in the motions and intentions of the enemy, engaged them yet deeper in their resolutions to make speed towards them, and not passing one or two days intervened their march. In this interim tidings were brought the army, that Warham and the committees there, being surprised by a party of horse from Oxford, was by colonel Cook regained, he being with 1500 horse then about Shaftesbury, and that colonel Cromwell, who commanded the king's party, was by him taken prisoner, that the horse were escaped and fled into Corfe-castle, not apprehended by our guards through the darkness of the night: moreover, that Mr. Murrey and sir David Conningham were taken coming out of France.

Saturday, February 14, the army marched from Cre-

diton to Chimleigh being ten miles, the weather wet, and the way dirty; the enemy, but a little before our forces came, were in the town, and were beaten out by the Plymouth regiment, lieutenant-colonel Wicks and others taken prisoners. Here his excellency received intelligence that the enemy continued at Torrington, and were a considerable army: upon which, Sunday February 15, the army marched early from Chimleigh, and had a rendezvous two miles off in the way to Torrington. Our horse brought in divers prisoners to the rendezvous, who confessed that the lord Hopton was in Torrington, and that he had sent out parties by three of the clock that morning to discover our motion; also one of our spies came thither out of Torrington that morning, assuring his excellency, that the enemy's whole army was in and about Torrington, not expecting our being so near.

The army was drawn to the rendezvous, with intention to march to Torrington, but the weather proving so bad, and the bridges being broken down by the enemy, and, besides, the day being far spent, put the general upon resolution to order his own regiment of foot, and a party of 200 horse, under the command of captain Berry, to advance three or four mile in the way to Torrington to amuse the enemy, and himself with the rest of the army to return to Chimleigh.

A party of colonel Butler's men that were upon the guard, took fourteen men, and seven and twenty horse, (part of the enemy's guard,) and brought them to Chimleigh, being most of them of Goring's lifeguard; who, being brought before the general, confessed they heard of our advance. Captain Berry, who was sent (as before) toward the enemy, returned with his party of 200 horse, informing the general that they had met with a party of the enemy about the same number,

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that the enemy charged him, but he had, by the assistance of God, routed them, and sore wounded lieutenant-colonel Dundass, who led on the party, and brought him and others away prisoners; but Dundass was so sore wounded, that he was forced to be left at a country village, upon his parole, to render himself a prisoner if he recovered; which accordingly he very punctually performed; and the general, in commiseration of his condition, being disabled for service by reason of his wounds, upon his tender to engage himself never to bear arms against the parliament, granted him his liberty.

Monday, February 16*, the drums beat by four of the clock in the morning; the general rendezvous of the army was appointed to be at Ring's-Ash, about three miles from Chimleigh; where accordingly, by seven of the clock in the morning, the whole army was drawn up in battalia, horse and foot, on the moor, five miles short of Torrington, and so marched in order ready for a present engagement, in case the enemy should attempt any thing in our march through the narrow lanes; the forlorn hope of horse, commanded by major Stephens and captain Moleneux, being advanced towards Stephenston, (master Rolls' house near Torrington,) his excellency understood, that the enemy had 200 dragoons in the house; whereupon a commanded party of horse and foot were sent to fall on them; but upon the advance of our forces towards them, the enemy quit the place; yet our horse marching fast, engaged their rear, took several of their dra-

* It should be remembered here, that upon the army's advance to Torrington, colonel Cook, who always readily received and punctually observed his orders, was sent with major-general Massey's horse to lie before Barnstaple, and upon that part of Devonshire, to be in a posture to interrupt the enemy's horse, in case, upon the army's advance into Cornwall, they should attempt to break through.

goons prisoners, and afterwards the forlorn hope of horse on both sides were much engaged in the narrow and dirty lanes; at last, we beat them from master Rolls' house all along the lane almost to Torrington. About five of the clock in the evening the van of the army was drawn up in the park, the forlorn hope of foot was drawn out near the forlorn hope of horse in the midway, between master Rolls' house and Torrington, and there lined the hedges to make good the retreat of the horse, the enemy likewise drew out of the town four or five closes off, and lined the hedges with musketeers within a close of ours, and flanked their foot with horse; whereupon good reserves were sent to second our forlorn hope of foot, lest the enemy, knowing the ground, and we being strangers unto it, might suddenly encompass us (it being by this time dark night, and the whole army being then come up, having marched ten miles that day): about eight at night the enemy drew off from some of the closes they formerly possessed; whereupon we gained the ground they quitted; and a council of war being called, whether it was advisable, being night, to engage the enemy's body, then in the town, who were ready with the best advantages of ground and barricadoes to receive us; it was the general sense of the council to make good our ground and double our guards till the next morning, that we might the better take view of the places where we were like to engage; whereupon the general and lieutenant-general went from master Rolls' house to see the guards accordingly set, but hearing a noise in the town, as if the enemy were retreating, and being loath they should go away without an affront, to that purpose, and that we might get certain knowledge whether they were going off or not, a small party of dragoons were sent to fire on the enemy

near the barricadoes and hedges ; the enemy answered us with a round volley of shot ; thereupon the forlorn hope of foot went and engaged themselves to bring off the dragoons, and the reserve fell on to bring off the forlorn hope : and being thus far engaged, the general being on the field, and seeing the general resolution of the soldiery, held fit that the whole regiments in order after them should fall on, and so both sides were accordingly engaged in the dark, for some two hours, till we beat them from the hedges, and within their barricadoes, which were very strong, and where some of their men disputed the entrance of our forces with push of pike and but-end of musket for a long time ; at last it pleased God to give us the victory, our foot first entering the town, and afterwards the horse, who chased the enemy through the town, the lord Hopton bringing up the rear had his horse shot dead under him in the middle of the town ; their horse once facing about in the street, caused our foot to retreat, but more of our horse coming up pursued them to the bridges, and through the other barricadoes at the further end of the town, where we had no sooner placed guards at the several avenues, and had drawn our whole army of foot and most of our horse into the town, but the magazine of near eighty barrels of powder, which the lord Hopton had in the church, was fired by a desperate villain, one Watts, whom the enemy had hired with thirty pounds for that purpose, as he himself confessed the next day, when he was pulled out from under the rubbish and timber ; and the lead, stones, timber, and iron work of the church were blown up into the air, and scattered all over the town and fields about it, where our forces were ; yet it pleased God miraculously to preserve the army, that few were slain besides the enemy's, (that were prisoners in the church where the

magazine was blown up,) and most of our men that guarded them, who were killed and buried in the ruins : and here was God's great mercy unto us, that the general being there in the streets, escaped with his life so narrowly, there falling a web of lead with all its force, which killed the horse of one master Rhoads of the lifeguard, who was thereon next to the general in the street, but doing neither him nor the general any hurt. There were taken in the town about 600 prisoners besides officers, great store of arms, (the lanes and fields being bestrewn with them,) all their foot were scattered, their horse fled that night towards Cornwall in great confusion ; the prisoners we took confessed they had about 4000 foot and 4000 horse at least ; the service was very hot, we had many wounded, it was stoutly maintained on both sides for the time.

If any particular be omitted in this relation, let the general's letter to the speaker of the house of commons supply the same, which here followeth, with a list of the slain and taken in this fight.

To the honourable William Lenthall, esquire, speaker of the honourable house of commons.

MASTER SPEAKER,

Plymouth being set free, and Dartmouth taken, I sent colonel Hammond with part of the foot to possess part of the houses near Excester, for the blocking of it up on the west side of the river, as formerly I had done on the east, and lay with the rest of the army so as to countenance both that work, and the raising of some forces in the Southams to lie about Totness for the securing of that country, and to keep the enemy from coming of that side of Devonshire again, when the army should remove to the other : these two things, with the continual foul weather at that time, and the absence of colonel Cook, with so many of the horse, occasioned my

stay thereabouts above a fortnight; in which time, the houses being competently fortified, and the forces raising in the Southams in good forwardness, I drew the army up towards Crediton, with purpose to advance into the north of Devonshire also, either by the taking of Barnstaple, or by blocking of it up, and raising a force in that well affected corner to keep it in, so as, having all clear, or made fast behind me, I might the better follow the remaining field-forces of the enemy into Cornwall. And to continue the blocking up of Excester on the west side, I left sir Hardress Waller, with three regiments of foot and one of horse of this army, and advanced with five regiments of horse and seven regiments of foot, and five troops of dragoons, the rest of the horse and dragoons being absent with colonel Cook in Dorsetshire, but then sent for to come up, when I was resolved upon my advance this way. The enemy at the same time advanced out of Cornwall with all the foot to Torrington, about which their horse did lie before, and began to fortify the town: their intentions therein, as we conceived, and do since further find, were, by the advantage of this place and their garrison of Barnstaple so near it, to make this part of Devonshire more surely theirs, and more difficult for us to come into, and lying so much the nearer to Excester, (against which they supposed this army wholly engaged,) to take their best advantages from hence and from Chimleigh, which they meant also to have possessed, to relieve Excester on the north side, or disturb us in the siege; and it is probable they might have a further purpose in their posture here, to secure the landing of Irish or Welch supplies so much the forwarder towards the east.

On Saturday last I advanced from Crediton to Chimleigh, where by many prisoners I was informed, that the lord Hopton had hereabouts 4000 horse and 3000 foot; we believed them to be about 2000 foot or upwards, and 3000 horse; the extreme foulness of weather that day and the next occasioned me not to advance from about Chimleigh for the next night, save only one foot quarter and an horse-guard advanced to Ring-Ash, three miles towards the enemy, to secure a rendezvous so much the nearer to them; for the day following I understood by the best intelligence, that the enemy was re-

solved to make good their station, and set their rest upon it to fight us there if we would come up to them; and truly men in their condition could not hope (all things considered) to have more for it, their horse for number superior to what I brought up with me, their foot, as I find since, not much inferior; and if they could with all their force make good this town, and put us to lie in the field, there being no villages near it that could shelter the army, the wet weather continuing, which was then most likely, would have forced us to draw back and make our firearms little useful, either for assault or defence; and besides, we were like, for matter of provisions, to be forced to draw off first, they having both by their posture, with the plentiful country of Cornwall behind them, and a river at their backs, securing also a good part of Devonshire unto them, and by their strength of horse, much advantage for longer subsistence than we; and we by the barrenness of the place where we must have lain before them, especially for horsemeat, their garrison of Barnstaple lying partly behind us, their horse more numerous than ours, which might with stronger parties cut off our supplies, had little possibility to subsist long before them. These considerations we had in our eye to discourage us from going on, as I believe they had to encourage them to stand; yet, on the other side, finding that by reason of the barrenness and long exhausting of our quarters behind us, we could neither keep our horse so close together as to lie safe so near the enemy, nor indeed find subsistence for the army, either where we were, or in any other quarters more backward, where we could lie, so as to secure the siege of Excester from relief, and upon all considerations conceiving the affairs of the kingdom did require us, and God by all did call us, to make a present attempt upon the enemy, we resolved to go on, to try what God would do for us, and trust him for weather, subsistence, and all things.

Accordingly, on Monday morning, I drew out the army to an early rendezvous at Ring-Ash, within six miles of the enemy: the weather still continued very wet, and so by all signs was like to hold, till we were advanced from the rendezvous; but suddenly, when we were upon march, it, beyond all expectation, began to be fair and dry, and so continued,

whereas we had scarce seen one fair blast for many days before. The enemy (as we understood by the way) had all their horse drawn together about Torrington, and with their foot prepared to defend the town, which they had fortified with good barricadoes of earth cast up at every avenue, and a competent line patched up round about it, their horse standing by to flank the same, and some within to scour the streets. Our forlorn hope had order to advance to Stephenson-park, about a mile from the town, and there to stay for the drawing up of the army, there being no other place fit for that purpose nearer to the town on that side we came on. But when we came near, we understood that the enemy had with 200 dragoons possessed the house in the park, and were fortifying it, being of itself very strong; but upon our nearer approach, their dragoons quitted the house, and our forlorn hope falling on them, took many prisoners, and pursuing them near the town, were engaged so far as they could not well draw back to the park, which occasioned the sending up of stronger parties to make them good where they were, or bring them off; and at last, there being some fear that the enemy would draw about them and hem them in, colonel Hammond was sent up with three regiments of foot, being his own, colonel Harlow's, and mine, and some more horse, to lie for reserves unto them; by which time the night was grown on, so that it was not thought fit, unless the enemy appeared to be drawing away, to attempt any thing further upon the town till morning, in regard none of us knew the ground, nor the advantages or disadvantages of it; but about nine of the clock, there being some apprehension of the enemy's drawing away, by reason of their drawing back some out-guards, small parties were sent out towards the town's end to make a certain discovery, which going very near their works before the enemy made any firing, but being at last entertained with a great volley of shot, and thereupon supposed to be engaged, stronger parties were sent up to relieve them, and after them the three regiments went up for reserves, till at last they fell on in earnest; after very hot firings, our men coming up to the barricadoes and line, the dispute continued long at push of pike and with but-ends of muskets, till at last it pleased God to make the enemy fly from

their works, and give our men the entrance; after which, our men were twice repulsed by their horse, and almost all driven out again; but colonel Hammond, with some other officers and a few soldiers, made a stop at the barricadoes, and so making good their reentrance, rallied their men, and went on again, major Stephens with their forlorn hope of horse coming seasonably up to second them; the enemy's foot ran several ways, most of them leaving their arms, but most of their officers, with the assistance of horse, made good their own retreat out of the town towards the bridge, and taking the advantage of strait passages, to make often stands against our men, gave time for many of their foot to get over the bridge; their horse without the town, after some attempts at other avenues to have broken in again upon us, being repulsed, at last went all away over another bridge, and at several other passes of the river, and all fell westward; the ground where their horse had stood and the bridge they went over lying so beyond the town, as our horse could not come at them but through the town, which, by reason of strait passages through several barricadoes, was very tedious, by means whereof, and by reason of continued strait lanes the enemy had to retreat by, after they were over the river, as also by the advantage of the night, and by their perfect knowledge of the country and our ignorance therein, our horse could do little execution upon the pursuit, but parties being sent out several ways to follow them, as those disadvantages would admit, did the best they could, and brought back many prisoners and horses. We took many prisoners in the town, who being put into the church where the enemy's magazine lay, of above fourscore barrels of powder, as is reported, besides other ammunition, either purposely by some desperate prisoner, or casually by some soldier, the powder was fired, whereby the church was quite blown up, the prisoners and most of our men that guarded them were killed and overwhelmed in the ruins; the houses of the town shaken and shattered, and our men all the town over much endangered by the stones, timber, and lead, which with the blast were carried up very high, and scattered in great abundance all the town over and beyond; yet it pleased God that few of our men were slain or hurt thereby, save those in the church only, our loss of men otherwise in this

service was small, though many wounded, it being a hotter service than any storm this army hath before been upon, wherein God gave our men great resolution; and colonel Hammond especially, and other officers engaged with him, behaved themselves with much resolution, courage, and diligence, recovering the ground after their men were twice repulsed: of prisoners taken in this service about 200 were blown up, 200 have taken up arms with us, and about 200 more common soldiers remain prisoners; besides many officers, gentlemen, and servants, not many slain, but their foot so dispersed, as that of about 3000, which the most credible persons do affirm they had there, and we find, by a list taken among the lord Hopton's papers, themselves did account them more, we cannot hear of above 400 that they carried off with them into Cornwall, whither their horse also are gone, being much broken and dispersed as well as their foot. By the considerations and circumstances in this business which I have here touched upon, you will perceive whose hand it was that led us to it, and gave such success in it; and truly there were many more evident appearances of the good hand of God therein than I can set forth; let all the honour be to Him alone for ever. Being desirous, as God shall see it good and further enable me, to improve the advantage of this success to the uttermost, the next day, having sent some regiments of horse and foot to advance unto quarters up towards Holsworthy, to set the enemy more home into Cornwall, and with more terror upon them, I sent also one regiment of foot, with some horse, back towards Barnstaple, to possess the earl of Bath's house at North-Tavistock, about a mile from Barnstaple on this side the river, whereby that garrison will be easily kept in on this side, and I shall try what will be done upon it otherways, whilst the army takes a little rest hereabouts, which the unseasonable marches, miserable quarters, and hard duty, both horse and foot, for many days, have been put unto, do necessarily require. But I conceive that, so soon as the army can be fitted for the purpose, it would be best to follow the enemy home and thoroughly into Cornwall; the breaking of that body of horse that is left there being the likeliest means to prevent or discourage the landing of any foreign forces in these parts, or the raising of any more out

of Cornwall: in order to which, I must earnestly recommend to your care two things especially; the one, to provide, by the disposal of your forces in the midland parts, that by excursions from Oxford hitherward I may not be diverted from prosecution of the work in Cornwall, to send again that way, nor the sieges of Excester and Barnstaple disturbed when I am engaged further west; the other, that money may be speeded, if any ways possible, but for a month or six weeks, to enable the horse as well as foot to pay quarters in Cornwall, whereby the oppositions that people might make would in all likelihood be taken off, and their affections or good opinions gained, to make them helpful to us against their present oppressors. There came unto me this day a young man from Truro, who certifieth me, that sir Walter Dudley came very lately from France, to let those about the prince know, that if there were an absolute necessity they could bring over their men with a fair wind from France to be here by the middle of the next month; expressing, that they had near 8000 foot and 1000 horse in readiness, and three months' pay provided for them, besides 10,000*l.* in bullion daily expected, a mint being ready to coin the same, but yet intimated a conveniency in the giving a little more time for their coming over; whereupon sir John Culpepper was to go in all haste to France upon Friday last, as is supposed, on purpose either to hasten all or a good part of those forces over. I think it will be very good that as much shipping as may be obtained be hastened into those parts. I shall upon this information, and the good success God hath been pleased to give us, so dispose of the army, as may most effectually conduce to a speedy and thorough settlement of these western parts of the kingdom; therefore I desire you again to have a special care, that the forces about Oxford be not permitted to range into these parts, when the army is like to be engaged so far west, lest it occasion the division of our forces, and hinder the accomplishment of that we desire to effect. I remain

Your most humble servant,

GREAT TORRINGTON,
Feb. 19, 1645.

THO. FAIRFAX.

More particularly there was taken here lieutenant-

colonel Wood, eight captains, commissary Boney, six lieutenants, one cornet, three ensigns, one chirurgeon, four sergeants, two and fifty troopers, 127 gentlemen, and about 200 common soldiers, in all 433, whereof 200 have taken up arms, being, as they said, forced in by the enemy; near 3000 arms (broken and whole); most of their ammunition blown up in the church, eight colours brought in, whereof one the lord Hopton's own, with this motto, *I will strive to serve my sovereign king.*

Slain, major Threave, captain Fry, and divers officers, 200 soldiers, besides those 200 blown up in the church; the lord Hopton and lord Caple wounded, besides divers others of quality; the lord Hopton's commission to be general under the prince, sir John Digby's to be commander of the forces before Plymouth, and other papers of consequence, taken, and about 400 or 500*l.* in money taken at the lord Hopton's quarters, with much plunder, left in portmanteaus there and in other places, behind them.

Tuesday, February 17, the general rested at Torrington, that day being spent in securing the prisoners and taking lists of the names, and sending some forces towards Barnstaple; and that the enemy might be kept in a continual alarm and fear by our pursuing of them, a party were sent towards Holsworthy, to fall upon their quarters; whereupon they quit that place, and the country informed that their horse were all fled into Cornwall, and that a great terror was upon them; and those few scattered foot that escaped in the dark at Torrington, all of them, both horse and foot, (as his excellency understood the next day,) drew into a body in Cornwall, to whom were now joined the prince's regiment of about 800 horse, which with some other Cornish horse, not before joined to them, made up a body

of 5000 horse, much superior in number to ours: with this body of horse, and about 1000 foot, (most Cornish,) they kept guards on the other side of the river Tamar, and this day there came by twenty and forty at a time of their foot, (being most Devonshire men,) that were scattered the night before out of the woods, some with their arms, and others without them, and listed themselves in the army; expressing, that they only waited for an opportunity to get to us; so that this defeat was in a manner the very ruining of all their foot.

Thursday, February 19, commissary-general Ireton was sent with a party to view the garrison of Barnstaple, and what places were fit to make quarters and to keep guards about the same, whereupon one regiment was sent to the earl of Bath's at Tavistock to possess it for quarters: that day there were three ships in Biddiford which struck in thither, thinking it had been in the enemy's power; their burden was small: the vessels were afterwards, upon petition, released, the owners being persons that had not voluntarily contributed against the parliament. This night the general returned back to master Rolls' house at Stephenson, in regard the quarter at Torrington was inconvenient, the windows shaken in pieces, and the houses so shattered with the great blast, that they could not perform a convenient shelter from the rain, it being a time of extreme wet weather.

CHAPTER III.

His excellency with the army advancing into Cornwall, driving the enemy before them, and possessing their quarters : a gallant piece of service performed by colonel Butler and his party near Stratton. Prince Charles, giving all for lost by his excellency's pressing so hard upon them, betakes himself to Scilly. An advantage to the parliament's cause by a packet of letters from Ireland taken at Padstow.

FRIDAY the 20th, it was taken into consideration, how far forth it was expedient to move towards Cornwall with the main forces, to improve the advantage we had upon the enemy; which business was also further advised on the next day.

At a council of war, where it was resolved (*nemine contradicente*) to march into Cornwall: the reasons inducing them to that vote, were, first, to prevent the landing of any forces out of France, of which the letters taken at Dartmouth gave an intimation; secondly, to destroy the field enemy, and by consequence settle the west; thirdly, Excester and Barnstaple would not probably hold out if the field force were once subdued; whilst that stood, they could not in honour yield, and therefore it was thought fit rather to follow the enemy into Cornwall to subdue them, than to stay to reduce Excester and Barnstaple, and then to pursue them, for that those garrisons would be dying for want of provisions, whilst the army should be in pursuit of the fore-said intentions.

Lord's day, February 22, orders were given to bring up some small quantity of money that was at Tiverton to the army, that upon their march into Cornwall there might be supply.

Monday, February 23, part of the army marched from Torrington to Holsworthy, being twelve long miles, dirty way, and the rest from Biddiford, Tavistock, &c. to Torrington, being fifteen miles, and the ways deep:

before the van of the army got into Holsworthy, colonel Butler was commanded before, with a party of horse and 400 dragoons, to force his passage over the river Tamar, and, if conveniently he could, to fall into the enemy's quarters; and captain Woggan, who was before sent with a small party of dragoons, took five and twenty horse and some prisoners, and brought them to Holsworthy.

Wednesday, the 25th, the army had a rendezvous near Tamerton, where intelligence came that colonel Butler had fallen upon the enemy, and taken between 3 and 400 horse, and eighty prisoners, and put major-general Web, with the forces under his command, to flight, (this service was performed near Stratton,) and thereupon our forces entered Stratton, where the people were much taken with their civility. This day the army marched to Launceston, ten long miles, being twelve at night before the rear came up within two miles of the town: three scouts were taken, who informed of colonel Basset's being in the town with 500 foot of colonel Tremayne's, and some horse: a forlorn hope was sent before, to demand the town; the gates were shut upon them, the enemy resisted, two of them were slain, about 100 taken; at last the enemy was put to flight in great disorder, but by the darkness of the night, narrowness and steepness of the ways, most of them escaped; and our men possessed the town, which had been garrisoned by them.

Thursday the 26th, the headquarter continued at Launceston, the foot being much wearied out with the two days' march before: the general viewed the ancient castle of Launceston, situated upon a mount, raised very high, but not fortified: the works and mounts on the top of the hill the enemy left standing undemolished. Many Cornish were taken prisoners in the

town the night before, who being brought before the general this day, had twelve pence apiece given them, and passes to go to their homes: the townspeople in Launceston were much affected with such merciful usage. The army, in their march into Cornwall thus far, had much cause to observe the people's frights, quitting their habitations in fear of the army; the enemy having insinuated such an ill opinion of it into them, endeavouring to make them believe, by oaths and imprecations, that no Cornish was to have quarter at our hands; of which prejudice and misprision, after the people were undeceived, they frequented the markets again as in former time.

This day a letter was sent to Plymouth for the Cornish gentlemen there to hasten to the general to Launceston; the rear guard of our horse were appointed to quarter along the river Tamar, the better to prevent the breaking through of the enemy's horse, an evil which his excellency had ever a watchful eye upon to prevent; messengers were sent to colonel Cook, who was left before Barnstaple with major-general Massey's horse, (all except the Plymouth regiment,) to keep good scouts out, to fall on the flanks of the enemy, in case they attempted to pass by; captain Farmer was sent with a company of dragoons to possess a house near Camelford, to gain intelligence, and the more to amuse the enemy touching our advance after them, and thereupon to enforce them to keep their horse in a body, that they might not take quarters, and so to weaken and discourage them from breaking through.

Friday the 27th, the headquarters continuing still at Launceston, the Plymouth regiments of foot were sent unto, to come from Tavistock thither, and the residue to lie on the passes upon the river, the more

effectually to interrupt the enemy, if he attempted to break through.

Saturday the 28th, his excellency had intelligence, that Salt-Ash was quitted by the enemy, and their works left undemolished; that the governor of Mount-Edgcomb was resolved to conclude upon a treaty negotiated by master Peters: the army was ordered this day to quarters, and advanced four or five miles towards Bodmin, that the rear of our horse might quarter with more conveniency, and closer together; and to the end, the next day all the army, both horse and foot, might march close in a body, in regard of the continued expectation that was of the enemy's horse breaking through, upon the advantage of a very open way (much of it being downs); other messengers were sent also to colonel Cook, for more surety and caution, to be in readiness in case the enemy should attempt to break through: for to prevent that still was the greatest care of the general, knowing that if the horse got east, and joined with the king's force, it might prolong the war, and much disturb the peace of the midland counties. Likewise a post was sent to colonel Whaley to draw from Oxfordshire towards Wiltshire with some regiments of his horse that he had before Oxford, the better to encounter with the enemy's horse, that would be to purpose harassed out with their march, (in case they did break through,) by a hard pursuit of them, which his excellency intended.

Lord's day, March 1, it happened to be a bitter cold frost; the rendezvous of the army was that day about six miles from Launceston, upon the moors; a party of horse being sent out, discovered the enemy's scouts, and not far from Saint Blisland took eight of them belonging to a guard of 300 horse, which they kept but

SPRIGG.

P

a little before our army. The scouts confessed they knew nothing of our approach that day, but expected us the next; that the 300 horse they had upon the guard (they thought) were drawn off. We had no sooner advanced a little further, but the van of our army discovered their said guard, who faced about: our army made an halt, till our rear was come up: the evening drawing on, and having four miles yet to Bodmin, it was held fit to quarter the body of the army in the field, about Saint Blisland, which was the headquarter, (a very poor village,) and this was done both for security, to lie close together, being so near an enemy, and for expedition, to be the readier for a march the next morning. Besides, it was held much advantage for the army to lie close this night, whereby they might keep good horse-guards, the better to discover and check the enemy if he should seek to break through.

A little before they took the enemy's scouts, intelligence came that our dragoons, under captain Farmer and captain Woggan, were engaged with the enemy as they were marching from the house they possessed to join with the army; whereupon a party of 2000 horse were commanded, under the lieutenant-general, to fetch off our dragoons, but before the horse came up, they had acquitted themselves well, the enemy was retired, and they were coming on to the army. That party of the enemy was commanded by sir James Smith, and had they not taken the nick of time, and gone away when they did, they had been all taken in their retreat by our horse, which came so instantly after them, that they had like to have gained the pass. This night his excellency had intelligence that the enemy had quitted Bodmin about ten at night, horse and foot retreating yet further west, and that the lord Hopton (otherwise sir

Ralph Hopton) brought up the rear, most of the men (poor creatures) being drunk when they went away, to mend their hard fortune.

Monday, early in the morning, the army following them, marched towards Bodmin, and had a rendezvous on the downs on this side Bodmin; from thence part of the horse and foot were commanded to Ware-bridge, being a passage that was suspected very convenient for the enemy, in case they intended to break eastward; likewise guards were commanded to Padstow, for caution, lest there the enemy should get over the river; and also the better to countenance the townsmen that stood upon their guard against the enemy. This day four troopers pursued a party of two and forty musketeers of the enemy beyond Bodmin, with their muskets laden and matches lighted, and after the rate of a miracle brought them away prisoners, such fear was upon them (from Heaven certainly); likewise six troopers pursued the enemy on the left hand as far as Lestwithiel, made them quit their guards there, and hearing that ammunition was going to Foy in wain loads, pursued the convoy thither, forced them to leave the ammunition, and so brought back four wain loads of match, powder, bullet, and barrels of muskets, and safely convoyed the same to the headquarter in Bodmin. The troopers that did this action were rewarded; but who is able to acknowledge the goodness and power of that God by whom they did these exploits! Moreover, a party of our horse this day took sir John Greenville's lieutenant-colonel and others.

Tuesday, March 3, the army rested at Bodmin. Consultation was had what course was to be taken to keep the enemy still before the army, their headquarters then being at Truro, their nearest quarters about Saint Columb, Grampond, and Tregny, between which

towns and Truro they lay then quartered, keeping their main guard of horse at Castle-o-Denisse : all the passes from the north sea to the south sea were taken into consideration, and guards of horse and foot disposed unto them, and the country were enjoined to barricade up the lanes, and keep men upon the fords.

Wednesday, March 4, his excellency had certain intelligence that the prince was embarked and set sail for Scilly with his lords and gentlemen, giving all for lost, and so evidently irrecoverable did their condition appear to all, that their refuge of lies failed them, and they did not stick to say in desperation at their departure, that all was lost. The prince's flying much disheartened the enemy, and what a work should it have upon us ! It might become us here to stay and pause a while : I cannot but run upon that scripture in my mind, Isaiah li. 12, 13, 14, *Who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man which shall be made as grass ; and forgettest the Lord thy maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth ; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if he were ready to destroy ? and where is the fury of the oppressor ? The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail.* The poor Cornish, like the captive exile, hastened to be delivered, lest they should die in the pit, and therefore took up arms on any side to make an end of the war, and restore a peace of any fashion, for the fury of the oppressor ; and where is the fury of the oppressor ? a ship hath embarked them, a strong wind hath carried them away, Scilly hath opened her arms and received them, &c.

— But I must remember my story.

The conditions for the surrender of Mount-Edg-

comb, a place of great strength and consideration, were this day presented to the general by master Coriton, master Lower, master Glanville, and master Trevisa, gentlemen of the country, who were glad of the opportunity to present themselves to the general for his favour ; the propositions were ratified by his excellency, and letters of recommendation were agreed unto, to be drawn and sent on their behalf to the parliament : their seasonable coming in was a good service, and master Peters' industry in this negotiation was great, and worthy all acceptance and acknowledgment.

A summons was this day sent unto some few hundreds of the country, to appear on Friday following upon the downs at Bodmin, and strong parties were sent out to see if they could meet with the enemy ; who meeting with some of their guards forced them to retreat beyond Saint Columb. This night the general had intelligence that a ship was come into Padstow from Ireland, that the townspeople seized on it, and stood on their guard against the enemy, and sent to our dragoons, who quartered near them, for their assistance.

Thursday the 5th, the dragoons coming to their assistance boarded the vessel ; some of the men were put to the sword, others sore wounded ; captain Allen of Waterford, an Irish rebel, had his life spared, to the intent to make use of his confession ; the townspeople were violent against them ; the packet letters they brought were thrown overboard, yet, by the diligence of the officers of dragoons, were found floating upon the water ; which being brought to the general, there was found amongst them letters from the earl of Glamorgan, that 6000 Irish were ready to be transported, and 4000 more should be ready by the 1st of May ; that 300 special Irish were appointed for the prince's

lifeguard, but Allen confessed, that 100 of them were to be put into the Mount, 100 into Pendennis, and the other 100 to be about the prince, in case he should approve of this disposal. There were letters also of the lord Digby's taken in that packet, being a narrative of his proceedings against the earl of Glamorgan, expressing how swimmingly he had carried his body in that business; also letters from the earl of Ormond. The letters from Glamorgan to the king were not found. Master Coriton and the rest of the gentlemen who came from Mount-Edgcomb, being so opportunely here when the packet came, had the original letters showed unto them, which gave them such satisfaction as that they freely expressed themselves, that what force they could raise in the country should be assisting to the parliament for the opposing of all Irish or any foreigners whatsoever, that should be brought over.

CHAPTER IV.

His excellency with the army driving up the enemy into Cornwall: a summons sent to sir Ralph Hopton and his forces to come in, with the several transactions of that business, until the disbanding of all his forces, fully related, &c.

It was intended that the army should advance on the morrow, but upon consultation it was held fit to stay that march, and to consider of a summons to be sent unto the lord Hopton, which was accordingly prepared, and sent away by the general's trumpet; which summons followeth in these words:

SIR,

Through the goodness of God to his people, and his just hand against their enemies, your forces being reduced to such condition, as, (to my sense,) the good hand of God continuing with us, wherein alone we trust they are not like either to have

subsistence or shelter long where they are, or to escape thence, nor, if they could, have they whither to go to have better: I have thought good, for prevention of more bloodshed, or of further hardship or extremity to any but such whose hearts God shall harden to their own destruction, to send you this summons, for yourself and them to lay down arms, and withal a tender of such conditions (upon a present surrender and engagement never to bear arms against the parliament) as may be better than any thing they can rationally expect by further standing out.

First therefore, to the soldiery in general, English and foreigners, I shall grant liberty either to go beyond sea or to their homes in England, as they please; and to such English as shall choose to live at home, my protection for the liberty of their persons, and for the immunity of their estates from all plunder or violence of soldiers, and all to go their ways with what they have, saving horses and arms; but for officers in commission and gentlemen of quality, I shall allow them to go with horses for themselves and one servant or more, suitable to their quality, and with arms befitting gentlemen in a condition of peace; and such officers as would go beyond sea for other service, to take with them their arms and full number of horses answerable to their offices.

To all troopers and inferior sort of horse-officers bringing in and delivering up of their horses and arms, twenty shillings a man, in lieu of their horses, to carry them home: to English gentlemen of considerable estates, my pass, and recommendation to the parliament for their moderate composition.

Lastly, for yourself, (besides what is before implied to you in common with others,) you may be assured of such mediation to the parliament on your behalf, both from myself and others, as for one whom (for personal worth and many virtues, but especially for your care of and moderation toward the country) we honour and esteem above any other of your party, whose error (supposing you more swayed with principles of honour and conscience than others) we most pity, and whose happiness (so far as consistent with the public welfare) we should delight in more than in your least suffering.

These things (not from any need or other ends than hu-

mane and Christian) having offered, I leave to your consideration and theirs whom they concern, desiring your and their speedy resolution, which I wish may be such as shall be most for the honour of God, the peace and welfare of this poor kingdom, and for your and their good, so far as may stand therewith.

And having herein discharged (as I conceive) the duty of an honest man, a soldier, and a Christian, if God shall see it good to let your hearts be hardened against your own peace, I shall (though with some regret for that ill that shall ensue to any, yet with cheerfulness and rejoicing at the righteous judgment of God) pursue my charge and trust for the public in another way, not doubting of the same presence and blessing which God hath hitherto vouchsafed in the same cause to the weak endeavours of

T. F.

March 5, 1645.

Instructions were likewise prepared for those that were to offer something to the country that should appear the next morning.

Friday, March the 6th, his excellency had intelligence the enemy's horse began to draw together, as if they were resolved to break through; for now was the time for them to do it, or never; for one day's advance more would drive them into so narrow a compass, that it was in vain to think of it afterwards. This was made known to the country people at their meeting upon the downs, whereupon there were above 1000 of them expressed much willingness to assist in the blocking up of all passages and ways, that might prevent the enemy's breaking through; and the Irish letters, being showed and read unto them by master Peters, did much heighten their resolution to aid and assist the parliament against the foreigners; and not only so, but the forwardness they expressed to assist against the present enemy in their country, with the great joy and content they showed at the army's being come thither

for their relief, (saying they had not seen such a day this three years,) was beyond expectation: and certainly there was the great hand and good providence of God in the opportune bringing in of this packet of letters thither, whereby the country was so much won unto us. The happy event of this day had a further accession by the news of the taking of Corfe-castle by a stratagem, managed by the discretion of that worthy and prudent gentleman, colonel Bingham, governor of Poole.

Strict orders were given to all our forces upon the guards to be very vigilant this night, and on the morrow a march was intended for the whole army.

Accordingly, March 7, the army marched early to a rendezvous, some four miles from Bodmin, towards St. Columb, but the weather proving extreme wet, and the place they desired to reach that night being a long march, it was held fit to take up quarter in the villages thereabouts for as many as the places could receive, and the general, with the rest of the army, returned back to Bodmin.

But to keep the enemy waking, that they might not refresh their horse by any rest in their quarters, colonel Rich was sent with 1000 horse and dragoons to fall on the enemy's guards and quarters, and to bring in what prisoners he could light upon; which accordingly he did near St. Columb, beat the enemy's outguards to their mainguard, their mainguard being about 600, (most of them the prince's lifeguard and gentlemen,) then commanded by major-general Pert, who, seeing no hopes of retreat, drew out to give a charge, and gave a good home-charge to our first division; major-general Pert himself charged through, but being shot, was taken prisoner; instantly the enemy was put to the rout before the rest of our division could come

up: that division of ours that was commanded by quartermaster-general Fincher, who first charged them, had the pursuit and execution of the enemy for three or four miles, wherein many were wounded and slain, about 100 taken prisoners, and about 300 horse.

But by reason the general and part of the army retreated back this day to Bodmin, the malignants began to rejoice upon presumption that the army was affronted, and hereof they were so confident, that they conveyed it up with much expedition to Oxford, where it is certain they had public rejoicing for the great victory obtained against Fairfax' forces in Cornwall.

Lord's day, March 8, though the day were very rainy, the army marched to other quarters, within six or seven miles of Truro, to St. Stephen's, St. Blase, and other parts: major-general Pert was brought to the headquarters, sore wounded; he was a proper, stout, gallant man; all means were used for his recovery, if it might have been. He satisfied divers there, that those men that were so routed were the prince's regiment (most of them gentlemen and reformadoes); that the summons sent from the general to the lord Hopton was not published: the copy of the summons being read unto him, he said that the conditions therein mentioned would be readily accepted by the soldiery, and if it were once published in the army and refused by the officers it would break them to pieces. In major-general Pert's pocket there was found a letter, intended to be sent to the lords that were about the prince, to this purpose: "that the king's condition is so low, is not our fault: we are not able to break through the enemy, nor strong enough to fight them, therefore are resolved to compound for ourselves, and leave you to do what you please."

This day the lord Hopton returned back the ge-

neral's trumpet without answer to the summons, only with this apology; "that by reason of the interruption the last night, he could not send a particular answer to the general, but would send one very shortly:" which that he might vindicate from a dilatory excuse, he made haste; and this day, towards the evening, an answer came from the lord Hopton, wherein he seemed willing to fancy the king and parliament into a treaty and cessation, and desired to know if it were not so; as the answer itself will show, the copy whereof followeth:

SIR,

I received yours, bearing date the fifth of this month; wherein I must acknowledge much kindness from you, and a very Christian consideration of sparing blood: but one thing there is, I am confident, you have too much honour to expect from me; which is, that to avoid any danger, or to enjoy any worldly advantage, I will renounce my master's house, to whom I am both a sworn subject and a sworn servant; that I must profess I am resolved to undergo all fortunes with him, and, if there shall be cause, to suffer any thing, rather than in the least point to taint my honour in that particular; and I hope there is not a man of any consideration in this army under my command that is not so resolved: yet in all honest and honourable ways to procure the peace of this kingdom, and the sparing of Christian blood, I take God to witness, I am, and still have been most desirous: and I hear, from good hands, that our gracious sovereign is at present so far advanced in a treaty with the parliament, as that he hath promised to pass four of the principal of their bills proposed, whereof the intrusting of the militia for seven years, in hands agreed between them, is one. I desire you to deal freely with me in that particular; for if that be so, it will spare the labour of further treaty, being for my part ready to obey whatsoever his majesty shall agree to. God hath indeed of late humbled us with many ill successes, which I acknowledge as a very certain evidence of his just judgment against us for our personal crimes; yet, give me leave to say, your present pro-

sperity cannot be so certain an evidence of his being altogether pleased with you. It is true, we are reduced to a lower condition than we have been in, yet have we a gallant body of horse, that, being preserved to a general accord, may be for good use against our common enemies; and being otherwise pressed, I may say it without vanity, want not a resolution, at least, to sell ourselves at a dear rate against any odds. Your propositions, though they be not wholly consented to, yet if a general accord, much more desirable, be not in a likely forwardness to prevent them, I shall be willing that eight commanders of ours, with three country gentlemen, give a meeting as soon as you please, to any equal number of yours, at any indifferent place, to consult of this great business, and to conclude of some propositions that may be reasonable and honourable for both parts; wherein I hope God will so bless our clear intentions, as may produce a probable inducement to a general peace, according to the unfeigned desire of

Your servant,

RALPH HOPTON.

March 8, 1645.

But this art would not do, my lord Hopton's magic is not strong enough to condense the mere air of his own fancy into a cessation before our armies, as by the general's reply to this answer the reader may satisfy himself; which here follows:

MY LORD,

I should most truly and freely inform your lordship the best I could, in any thing that might lead you to a right understanding of things, in order to the peace of the kingdom, or the real good of yourself and those with you, so far as may stand with my trust and duty to the public, to what I conceive your more certain knowledge of that your desire to be informed in concerning the king's offers to the parliament, would not be prejudicial: but, the truth is, I can give you no other satisfaction or assurance therein than this: that the king hath made some offers to the parliament, and amongst them, one concerning the militia; something to the purpose as you say you have heard; but the just certainty what his last overtures are, or how far they are advanced to a general

accord, I cannot at present certify. I do not hear they have proceeded so far as to a treaty; and I believe, that as the parliament may be discouraged from the way of treaty by former experiences of the fruitlessness thereof, and the ill use the same hath been designed or driven unto, viz. only to gain advantages for war, without real intentions for peace; so the late overtures that way are the less like to be successful, by reason of the clear and certain discoveries the parliament have had, that his majesty at the same time was and is labouring by agents in all parts to draw in foreign forces, and especially that the earl of Glamorgan, by commission from his majesty, had concluded a peace with the Irish rebels, on terms extremely dishonourable and prejudicial, upon the only condition of sending over force under the command of that lord to invade England; whereof, I presume, you cannot but have heard. And though his majesty did in a letter to the parliament disavow any such agreement, and pretended he had given order to the lord Digby for the attainting and impeaching the earl of Glamorgan of high treason, for what he had done therein; yet, by late discoveries to the parliament, and especially by letters intercepted the other day at Padstow, from the lord Digby, the earl of Glamorgan, and others, to secretary Nicholas, yourself, sir Edward Hyde, the lord Culpepper, and others, it is most clear and evident, that the arresting of the earl of Glamorgan was only for a present colour, to salve reputation with the people, and continue their delusion, till designs were ripe for execution; for the same peace is fully concluded with the rebels, the king to have the aid conditioned upon the same agreement, and the earl of Glamorgan at liberty again, and to command that force in chief.

Now for the overture of a meeting, to treat further about the propositions I sent, though I know nothing material that I can add or alter, except in circumstances, yet I shall not refuse or decline such a meeting, or ought else that probably tends to the saving of blood, or further misery to any, provided the meeting be speedily, and number of persons not to exceed four or five. But, my lord, when you consider what I have before related concerning foreign supplies, which I have reason to think you know and believe, you see what cause I have to be jealous of advantages sought by delays, and not

to intermit any time, or omit any opportunity, to prosecute the service I have in hand : and that there may be no colour of your expecting that forbearance on my part which you offer on yours, I do the more hasten back my resolution to you : in pursuance whereof, I do not despise nor shall insult upon your present condition. I question not, nor yet shall, I hope, be much moved with the resolution of your men ; I presume not on former successes nor present advantage in fleshly power, but desire to trust in God alone, whose favour and blessing to this army, above others, I do not account in what is past, or expect in future, to be for any precedence in merit or goodness of ours, whereby we should be more pleasing to him than others, but from his own free grace and goodness towards his people, whose welfare, with the common good of the kingdom, we seek and desire with all faithfulness and integrity to pursue. And so, committing the issue of all to his good pleasure, I remain

Your humble servant,
THO. FAIRFAX.

March 9, 1645.

Moreover, besides the proportion this answer might bear to the better information of the lord Hopton, his excellency (to satisfy him more fully) commanded some of the regiments to advance this day to Tregny, (an ill sign of a cessation,) and the next day the army advanced two several ways, part of it following to Tregny, (the headquarter that night,) another part of it to Probus, and those parts. But such was the force of the lord Hopton's imagination upon his own soldiers, that they, instead of asking, acted a cessation ; when our forlorn of horse coming near theirs, not far from Probus, they did not endeavour to put themselves in order to receive us, nor did they make any resistance, but stood still, our men much wondering thereat. And what was the cause, but a cessation between the armies (as they believed, or would seem to believe) ; for so soon as our men came near, they cried, "A cessation ! a cessation !" ours cried, "No, no, there was none : " and

much ado had commissary-general Ireton, and other officers, to persuade them there was none ; notwithstanding, since they were so possessed and deluded, we wished them to be gone, and we would take no advantage of them. The enemy, expressing much sorrow, (that there was not a cessation as they were informed,) retired, seeming also to be somewhat affected, that they had so noble and ingenuous an enemy, that took not this advantage to do them any hurt, as we might have done, there being no cessation.

The lord Hopton seeing his stratagem would not take, but he must beg a cessation if he would have it, and that his men were so startled at the advance of our army, sent this night, about twelve of the clock, for a treaty, naming the place, Tresillian-bridge, if his excellency approved of it : the trumpet was returned about three in the morning, that the general did hearken to a treaty, and would appoint commissioners to meet at the place proposed by the lord Hopton. Hereupon commissioners on both sides were nominated to meet at nine the next day, being Tuesday morning (March 10). But the general, being unwilling to lose time, gave orders for a march : accordingly the army that Tuesday advanced by break of day, and marched to a rendezvous within two miles of Truro by ten of the clock, where the lord Hopton's trumpeter brought a safeconduct for our commissioners, and they having received the like from us, a cessation was agreed to ; but withal, a message was sent to the lord Hopton from the general, that he intended to quarter his army at Truro and St. Allen that night, which he thought fit to give him notice of, that none of his forces might be left in the town when our soldiers entered. This much disrelished with the lord Hopton, and his commissioners that he sent had much reluctancy against it. The

general, upon conference with the commissioners, was content to let them have St. Allen for their quarter; his excellency reserving still Truro (the prime quarter) to himself. And here we had the enemy in a pound, so that he had but six miles' breadth to break through, if he attempted it. And now we having the pass at Truro, the lord Hopton drew his forces to quarter more westward, and the treaty was adjourned till next morning, and a cessation observed on both sides.

Wednesday the 11th, the commissioners on both sides met again, but could not make any great progress into the treaty: the cessation was continued for a day longer: about 120 musketeers came in this day with their arms, and colours flying, being of colonel Trevanian's regiment: also divers colonels, knights, and gentlemen of quality, sent to the general, making known their desires to be received into the protection of the parliament; which so disheartened colonel Trevanian, then with his regiment at Perin, that late that evening he sent unto his excellency, desiring he might be included in the treaty with the lord Hopton, and have the same conditions that other officers were to have. These things so operated with the governor of St. Mawe's castle, a principal fort that had a great command of the haven at Falmouth, that he sent to the general to be received into favour: and although Arundel, the governor of Pendennis, sent to command him to come into the castle of Pendennis, he fearing some evil intended against him, refused, and persisted in his former desire: whereupon the general sent him conditions, with a summons; which were accepted, and he agreed to surrender.

By reason of the cessation, our troopers mixed with the enemy's; and upon this bruit abroad, (though without ground,) that the enemy's troopers should

lose their horses, they, to make some advantage of them, coursed good store of their best horses to our men.

By twelve of the clock this night, all the material points of the treaty were concluded, matters of circumstance only remained, which yet were so necessary to be concluded, in order to the perfecting of the treaty, that the next day was allowed (and the cessation continued) for the finishing thereof. When the treaty was fully ended, and hostages appointed, the same day Saint Mawe's castle was surrendered, and thirteen pieces of ordnance in it, (whereof two great brass pieces of about 4000 weight apiece,) and our foot were sent to possess it.

The treaty being thus ended, with great joy did the enemy's officers receive our conditions, and wished they had sooner known our intentions towards them. Those that seemed most discontented were the common troopers, that were to be dismounted, who therefore, to mend their conditions, had changed away their best horses, for advantage, before the disbanding. And it is not to be credited how much our army did get into the enemy's esteem during the cessation, and what sorrowful expressions many of them did make, that they had been so deluded concerning our carriage; ingenuously confessing, that the civility of our army had been ever till now concealed from them. Officers and soldiers unanimously desired employment for Ireland; being willing to take the sacrament oath, (for that they proposed,) or to enter into what other obligation should be thought fit, that as they would never bear arms against the parliament in England, so that they would not, if they were employed in Ireland by the parliament, desist from pursuing of their commands against the Irish rebels, upon any countermand or other invita-

tion of the king's: affirming, that they had sufficiently smarted already for being enticed by him.

Saturday was appointed to be the day of disbanding, which yet of very necessity was put off till the next day; in the meantime 120 more of the enemy's foot, with colours, came in; and now, all things being agreed, the commissioners of both sides supped this night with the general.

The next day, which was appointed for the disbanding, was the Lord's day, in which the army would have been glad to have rested, but in regard time was precious, and the country suffered so much by the enemy's forces that lay upon them, they by good warrant preferred mercy and necessity before sacrifice, and the French regiment, under the command of monsieur Laplane, which was to be the first disbanded, was that day brought to the place appointed for disbanding. Their horses were very poor, they having before, by private contracts, put off the best of them. There were about 300 dismounted; but they having made their markets before, most of their horses (as was but just) were turned back upon their own hands, as not worth the twenty shillings an horse, which they were to receive according to the agreement. In the space of five days more was the work finished, and the whole field-force of the enemy in the west of England disbanded; viz. on Monday two brigades of horse; Tuesday the 17th, the two brigades of the lord Cleveland's and major-general Web's; Wednesday the 18th, part of the lord Wentworth's, colonel Bovile's brigade, lord Hopton's lifeguard, and sir Richard Greenville's lifeguard; Thursday two brigades more, of which the lord Goring's was one, and the prince's lifeguard; Friday the 20th, the two last troops of all the Cornish horse were disbanded. The number of brigades in all that were disbanded

were nine; viz. the French brigade, consisting of three regiments; the lord Wentworth's brigade, consisting of four regiments; sir James Smith's brigade, consisting of three regiments; the lord Cleveland's brigade, consisting of four regiments; major-general Web's, of three regiments; the lord Hopton's brigade, commanded by colonel Bovile; the lord Goring's brigade, of five regiments; the prince's lifeguard, consisting of nine troops, being 700 men, armed; sir Richard Greenville's reformed men. The men that were dismounted are proper and lusty men.

To the honourable William Lenthal, esquire, speaker of the honourable house of commons.

SIR,

Whilst I lay at Bodmin for the necessary refreshment of the army, and to block up the passages from Bodmin to the north and south sea, I sent a summons, with propositions, to sir Ralph Hopton, and the army under his command, (a true copy whereof I have here enclosed,) being encouraged thereunto by some of the enemy's officers and soldiers, who came in to me, and informed of their inclinableness to conditions; and hoping thereby either to bring them to such terms as should be to your advantage, or would distract and weaken them; and withal understanding, by the intercepted letters I sent you, that an Irish infantry was ready to be shipped for England, I thought fit to try all means which in probability might break their body of cavalry upon the place. When I had despatched these propositions to the enemy, I advanced upon Monday with all the army from Bodmin towards Truro, being then the enemy's headquarters, and to Tregny, where I quartered that night. Sir Ralph Hopton sent a trumpeter to me with a letter, desiring to have commissioners appointed on both sides, to meet at Tresilian-bridge the next day, with power to treat and conclude, which I assented to: the treaty accordingly began, the commissioners meeting about four o'clock in the afternoon, and I in the meantime advancing

the quarters of the army to Truro and Saint Allen : after some time spent between the commissioners, this agreement was made, a copy whereof I have here also enclosed ; and in execution thereof, this day we began to disband the French brigade under colonel Lapland : to morrow we proceed with three other brigades, they having nine in all ; and shall endeavour to shorten this work as much as may be. Truly, sir, this must needs be acknowledged for an admirable mercy from the same gracious hand of Providence that hath hitherto gone along with you, that so considerable a force as this should be so baffled, first at Torrington, and afterwards should put themselves, as it were, into a net ; whereby they were necessitated to take terms, to the utter ruin of so great a body of cavalry ; which, according to all our information, and the confession of our enemies, was not less at the time of the treaty than 4 or 5000 horse. The articles of agreement will speak the mercy, and needs no comment ; yet I hope I may make this observation upon them, that thereby not only so great a body of cavalry is broken, but so many both officers and soldiers disobliged from taking arms against you, and this at such a season when a foreign aid so ready, as the earl of Glamorgan's letters sent up formerly (and now sent you) speak at large, the timely freeing of us for other services that remain, with discouragement put upon the enemy's garrisons in these parts, which we hope will cause them the more speedily to come in, we trust will be good consequences of this work : it is the desire of us all, the praise of all may be returned to God, to whom it is only due. The reputation of this hath already produced a surrender of Saint Mawe's castle, wherein we found about thirteen guns, and good proportion of ammunition ; which place gives you a better interest in Falmouth-harbour than the enemy hath : for by the advantage hereof you may bring in shipping without hazard, which they cannot. It hath also occasioned the coming in of between 300 and 400 foot of the enemy's, with their arms, to me ; and given the countries such heart against them, that in Peryn (a town formerly not very well affected) and in Saint Ive they stand upon their guards against the enemy. For further particulars concerning this business, I refer you to

master Peters, who since he came into this county (where he was born) hath very much furthered the service, in the bringing of the country in so freely to the protection of the parliament. I remain

Your most humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

Truro, March 14, 1645.

Articles of agreement concluded betwixt commissary-general Ireton, colonel John Lambert, colonel John St. Aubin, commissary-general Stane, captain Edward Herle, and Richard Deane, comptroller of the ordnance, commissioners appointed on the behalf of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, knight, general of the parliament's army, on the one part ; and colonel Charles Goring, colonel Marcus Trevor, colonel Thomas Panton, colonel Jordan Bovill, sir Richard Prideaux, knight, and major Goteer, commissioners appointed on the behalf of the right honourable the lord Hopton, general of his majesty's army, on the other part ; as followeth :

I. It is concluded and agreed, that no person in the lord Hopton's army, not formerly by name excepted by the parliament from pardon, shall be excluded from the privilege of this treaty, either as being a foreigner, or for having formerly served the parliament ; but shall equally have the benefit of what shall upon this treaty be granted to other persons of that quality that they are of in the army : and for any persons by name excepted by the parliament, they shall have present liberty (if they desire it) to go beyond seas, with like recommendation and equipage as others of like quality ; or if they desire to live at home in England, to make their addresses to the parliament for that or other purpose, they shall have leave and reasonable time so to do, and the general's protection to live quietly and at liberty in any place they shall nominate and choose within the parliament's quarters, until they have received the parliament's resolution ; and if the parliament shall not think fit to grant such their desires, they shall then have leave and passes to go beyond sea, as before, or to any of the king's armies or garrisons, as they shall think fit.

II. That the army and forces under the command of the lord Hopton shall, within six days after the date hereof, be wholly disbanded and discharged by the lord Hopton, and the general officers, colonels, and other officers under his command, according to the several charges in manner hereafter expressed.

III. That all common troopers, corporals of horse, farriers, and saddlers, that are mounted, being of or belonging to the forces under the command of the right honourable the lord Hopton, shall bring in and deliver up their horses, with their bridles and saddles, and all their arms, unto his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, or unto whom he shall appoint to receive them, in manner, time, and place as is hereafter expressed; provided, that all corporals, and such common troopers as shall appear gentlemen of worth, and such other troopers as shall go beyond sea, shall be allowed to keep and carry away with them their swords.

IV. That upon performance hereof, they shall receive twenty shillings a man, or keep their horses, and shall have their passes to go to their homes in England, or beyond sea, with their bag and baggage, which they shall have leave to carry with them, or dispose of them as they please; and those to whom swords are allowed, as before, to pass with their swords.

V. That the commission officers of horse under the lord Hopton, for their several troops respectively, shall cause the said horses and arms to be duly delivered in without changes, spoiling, or embezzlement among themselves, according to the effect of the first article foregoing.

VI. That this being performed, all the said commission officers of horse in present command, and all trumpeters belonging to them, shall have liberty to go away, either to their homes in England, or beyond the seas, with their bag and baggage: and also, they shall have such number of horses and equipage as is hereafter allowed, according to their several qualities: that is to say,

First, for those that shall choose to go beyond the seas, the full number of horses and firearms, if they have so many of their own.

To trumpeters, one horse apiece, and their trumpets.

To quartermasters, two horses and one case of pistols.

To cornets, three horses and two case of pistols.

To lieutenants, four horses and three case of pistols.

To captains, majors, and lieutenant-colonels, six horses and four case of pistols.

To colonels, eight horses and six case of pistols.

To the adjutant-general, six horses and four case of pistols.

To the other adjutants of brigades, three horses apiece and one case of pistols.

To the scoutmaster-general, six horses and two case of pistols.

To the quartermaster-general, six horses and two case of pistols.

To the marshal-general, four horses and one case of pistols.

To the deputy quartermaster-general, two horses.

To the deputy scoutmaster, one horse.

To the major-general, twelve horses and six case of pistols.

To the commissary-general of horse provisions, three horses and a case of pistols.

To the commissary-general of victuals, three horses and one case of pistols.

To the chirurgeon-general, three horses.

To quartermasters of brigades, three horses and one case of pistols.

To chirurgeons of regiments, two horses.

To all these, except chirurgeons, their defensive arms, and swords for themselves and their servants; and to every field-officer one carbine, and chirurgeons their swords.

Secondly, those that shall choose to abide in England, with the general sir Thomas Fairfax's protection, and to live at home, shall have their proportions as followeth:

The trumpeters, one horse apiece and their trumpets.

To quartermasters, one horse apiece.

To cornets and lieutenants, two horses apiece and one case of pistols.

To captains, three horses apiece and one case of pistols.

To majors, four horses apiece and one case of pistols.

To lieutenant-colonels, five horses apiece and one case of pistols.

To colonels, six horses apiece and two case of pistols.

To the major-general, ten horses, three case of pistols.
 To the adjutant-general, six horses, one case of pistols.
 To the adjutants of brigades, one horse apiece and one case of pistols.
 To the quartermaster-general, six horses, one case of pistols.
 To the marshal-general, three horses, one case of pistols.
 To the deputy quartermaster-general, two horses.
 To the scoutmaster-general, four horses, one case of pistols.
 All these to have swords for themselves and their servants.
 To the commissary of horse-provision, two horses and a case of pistols.
 To the commissary of victuals, two horses, a case of pistols.
 To the deputy-scoutmaster, one horse.
 To the quartermasters of brigades, two horses.
 To the chirurgion-general, two horses.
 To surgeons of regiments, one horse.
 To chaplains, two horses.

All these, except chaplains, to have swords for themselves and their servants.

VII. That the precedent articles concerning the surrender of troopers' horses, &c. being performed, if any officer in command that chooseth to live at home shall appear to have more horses of his own than what he is before allowed by the last precedent article, the commissioners of sir Thomas Fairfax's part will recommend it to his excellency's favour that they may enjoy the benefit of such horses of their own, to the same number as officers of like quality that are to go beyond the seas.

VIII. That of the reformado officers that choose to live at home in England, reformado quartermasters shall have the same conditions as corporals in command; cornets and lieutenants shall go away with one horse apiece; captains, majors, and lieutenant-colonels, with two horses apiece, and colonels with three horses apiece, if they have so many of their own, and one case of pistols: those reformadoes that desire to go beyond seas, to have half the proportion of horses and arms allowed in that case to officers of the like quality in present command, if they have them of their own; and all of them to go with swords, bag and baggage, or dispose thereof at pleasure.

IX. That all gentlemen of quality in arms or not in arms, but living under the protection of the said army, shall have liberty either to go to their own houses, or beyond the seas, with bag and baggage, and equipage according to their several qualities, as followeth; that is to say,

A knight, with four horses, three servants, one case of pistols, and their swords.

An esquire, with three horses, two servants, one case of pistols, and their swords.

A gentleman, with two horses, one servant, one case of pistols, and their swords.

A gentleman, of lowest rank, with one horse for himself, and a sword.

Scholars and clergymen to have one horse at the least, or more, according to their different degrees, at the general's discretion.

X. That to all those who according to the effect of these articles shall choose to go beyond the sea passes shall be granted from the general, sir Thomas Fairfax, accordingly; and to those who, being English, shall choose to live at home, passes for that purpose, and protections for the liberty of their persons, and also for the freedom of their estates from all plunder and violence of soldiers; and that such gentlemen or others, that have considerable estates, may have the general's letters of recommendation to the parliament (if desired) for their moderate composition.

XI. That after the performance of these articles, so far to disbanding and delivering up of what is to be delivered, all officers and soldiers that shall, according to these articles, choose to go beyond the seas, shall have sufficient quarters assigned them by sir Thomas Fairfax, near convenient ports for their transportation; and that they shall have twenty-eight days allowed to stay in England, from the day of their several disbanding, and that the charge of quartering their horses be discharged by themselves after the first fourteen days for the time of their further stay; that the general will appoint men to take care that shipping shall be provided for transporting their persons, arms, bag and baggage, they paying the accustomed rates.

XII. That a certain number of officers of the lord Hopton's

army, not exceeding forty, upon the lord Hopton's commissioners' request, shall be permitted to have passes for themselves and their servants, horses, and necessities, to go to Oxford; provided, that their servants exceed not the number of two, their horses three, to every one respectively.

XIII. That the lord Hopton shall be allowed for his own use all his horses, provided they exceed not the number of forty, and arms for himself and twelve men; and that the lord Wentworth shall have all his horses, provided they exceed not five and twenty, and arms for himself and eight men, and places assigned them for conveniency of quarters.

XIV. That such Englishmen as shall choose to abide in England at their homes, and all foreigners of the said army, shall engage themselves by promise, in such form as is herewith agreed on, not to bear arms any more against the parliament of England, nor to act any thing wilfully prejudicial to the parliament's affairs, without first rendering themselves prisoners to the parliament: and likewise all such English as shall choose to go beyond sea shall engage themselves in the like promise for three years next ensuing the date hereof, or otherwise shall lose the benefit of these articles, excepting the lord Hopton and lord Wentworth, and the number of officers allowed to go to Oxford in the twelfth article beforegoing, who are by the intention of these articles left free from such engagement.

XV. That all horses, arms, and furniture of war belonging to or in the hands of any person in the said army, not allowed, in the precedent or subsequent articles, to be carried away, shall be delivered up to such persons and at such places near Truro, or sir Thomas Fairfax's headquarters, as his excellency shall appoint, within six days after the date hereof, without spoil or embezzlement, at the care as well of the general's officers of the said army, and all commanders in their several charges, as by the persons themselves to whom such arms or furniture of war do belong, or in whose custody they were.

XVI. That whosoever shall, after the conclusion of this treaty, purposely break, spoil, or embezzle any of the arms, horses, or furniture, agreed and concluded to be delivered up in this treaty, shall forfeit the benefit due unto him by any

article in the treaty. And if any of the said army, after the conclusion of this treaty, shall plunder, or wilfully do any violence unto any inhabitants of the country, he shall give satisfaction unto the persons so wronged, or lose the benefit of the treaty; and that the commissioners of both parties, or any three of them, whereof one or more to be of sir Thomas Fairfax's party, and one or more to be of the lord Hopton's, shall have power to hear and determine all such cases accordingly.

XVII. That the said army and forces under the command of the lord Hopton, from the time of the conclusion of this treaty, until the time of their drawing out to be disbanded, as in the ensuing articles, shall be quartered in such places westward from Truro as sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint, which shall be large enough for their accommodation, and that the cessation of arms, and of all acts of hostility betwixt the two armies, shall continue unto the time of the complete disbanding of the lord Hopton's army.

XVIII. That for the disbanding of the said forces, and delivering up of horses, arms, &c. In performance of the precedent articles, every brigade and regiment under the lord Hopton's command, shall by their respective commanders be drawn out into such places of rendezvous, within two miles of Truro, or sir Thomas Fairfax's headquarters, and upon such days as sir Thomas Fairfax shall for them jointly or severally appoint, notice of the same being given to his excellency in writing sixteen hours beforehand, under the commissioners of the lord Hopton's part, or any of them, two or more of whom shall for that and other purposes continue at sir Thomas Fairfax's headquarters until the disbanding be finished, and that the quartermaster-general, or adjutant of the lord Hopton's, with one horseman from every brigade, shall also be there with them, and that none of the said brigades or regiments shall be drawn out of their quarters (which shall be assigned to them as before) otherwise than upon and according to such notice from sir Thomas Fairfax as before, except to and for their ordinary guards.

XIX. That to or before the drawing out of the several brigades or regiments to such rendezvous as before, the chief commanders of them respectively shall deliver, unto whom sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint, a true and perfect list of the

regiments and troops in the several brigades, and of all officers and soldiers in their several troops, expressing by name which of them do choose to go beyond sea, and which do go to live at home; as also who are reformadoes, and in what degree of command they have served: and that at the same times and places, the horses, arms, and furniture, by virtue of the precedent articles to be delivered up, shall be delivered up accordingly; and all the officers and soldiers disbanded and discharged, and there shall receive their passes, with warrants for quarters by the way for one night in a place, and be conveyed towards their several homes, as far as Chard, if they go so far, or unto quarters assigned them for their transportation, according to the precedent articles.

That for the further performance of these articles, two colonels of each army shall be mutually delivered and kept as hostages.

H. Ireton.	Charles Goring.
Jo. Lambert.	Marcus Trevor.
Jo. St. Aubin.	Thomas Panton.
William Stane.	Jordan Bovill.
Edward Herle.	Richard Prideaux.
Richard Deane.	Jean Goteer.

There came in to the general during the treaty many lieutenant-colonels, sergeant-majors, and captains; many gentlemen of quality; ninety and six common soldiers from Peryn with arms: twelve more followed them: one hundred more with their arms and colours, of colonel Trevanian's regiment: one hundred officers and soldiers of colonel Champernoon's regiment. Falmouth by this means, and the surrender of St. Mawes, was ours on one side the harbour.

Now having given you the narrative, give me leave to make some few observations on this successful progress, even to the land's end, which may well be the subject of greatest admiration and thankfulness: the hard task the army had in forcing up so great a body as 5000 of the enemy's horse into such a narrow neck

of land, through a country so cragged, in such a season of the year, the ground all covered over with snow, the ways so slippery, and the weather so bitter cold, by a hard frost of that continuance as had not been known for many years before, may well be compared with Hannibal's forcing his passage into Italy through the frozen Alps with fire and vinegar. That 5000 horse and more should be forced to capitulate and yield themselves to an army coming short of that number in horse, is that which history can hardly parallel, and posterity will scarce believe. And the benefit is as great as the wonder: for had this body of horse escaped into the midland parts, they might in probability have much protracted the war: and if they, the lord Ashley's foot, and the king's other forces about Oxford, had joined together, they would have been very considerable in the field, and so would necessarily have occasioned the diversion of the army from the work they had in hand, viz. the reduction of the west, which was of that vast importance to the kingdom, considering the negotiations that were in France and Ireland for the present bringing over forces thither, (as by the intercepted letters from those parts severally did appear,) that nothing could be greater: but by this good hand of God upon us, this body of the enemy is secured, their joining prevented, and all the mischief that would have ensued thereupon, and Cornwall reduced: which last particular, that you may see what a considerable sum (alone and by itself) it amounts unto, cast it up and consider it, as it was a country having convenient ports and harbours both for France and Ireland, whose natural situation was very strong and apt for defence, being all very mountainous, and enwrapt with the sea on all sides, except toward Devonshire, and there bounded by the river Tamar, which in a right line

runs almost from sea to sea. From which advantages, it hath been in ancient times one of the last places of retreat in the kingdom, and hath ever made saving conditions for itself in those overflowing inundations both of Saxons and Normans. Since the beginning of our late wars, it and its forces have been more than once fatally disastrous to our former armies, and had ever been from the beginning of the wars in the possession of the enemy, the people more generally disaffected to the parliament than any other part of the kingdom, from whence the king, as from a never failing spring, was constantly supplied with a choice and able infantry.

All which particulars whosoever doth consider, will acknowledge, that the reducing of this county was as difficult as desirable: and this is another happy fruit of the disbanding those horse, and not only the reduction of that county of Cornwall, but the absolute conquest of the west of England; most of the enemy's garrisons there only waiting to see what would become of these horse, upon whom they depended for relief.

All which considered and put together, this service may well live a lasting monument to the glory of God and the honour of the instruments.

Moreover, during this space, while the enemy's forces were disbanding, as an additional to the occurrences of these five days, Monday the 16th, another packet of the lord Glamorgan's taken at Peryn was brought to the general, being a duplicate of those letters taken at Padstow, (another vessel being newly landed there out of Ireland, not knowing but that it was still in the king's hand,) and that evening was Peryn possessed by our foot, who were received with much joy by the townspeople.

Tuesday the 17th, lieutenant-colonel Ingoldsby, (a

stout and valiant man,) going to view Pendennis-castle, received a shot from some of the enemy's musketeers behind the mud walls, of which he died within three hours.

Wednesday, the general went to view Pendennis, and possessed Pennycome-Quick; also Dennis fort, with twenty-six pieces of ordnance and thirty barrels of powder, was the same day surrendered to the general; and Penzance and St. Ives stood upon their guards against Goring's forces.

Thursday, above 100 men came with their arms from Michael's Mount, and tendered themselves to serve in the army.

CHAPTER V.

The army returning to the siege of Excester, with all the particulars of the treaty, and surrender of the same.

THE whole field-force of the enemy being thus happily reduced, orders were given out immediately for the army to march back eastward: Saturday, the 21st, the general accordingly marched from Truro to Bodmin, and the rest of the army to other quarters, where they rested the Lord's day. Monday, the 23rd, consultation was had with the gentlemen for the settlement of those parts. The lord Mohune and others came to his excellency that day. Tuesday, the 24th, further debate was had concerning the ordering of the disbanded horse, who plundered the country as they went, and they were all called over by the list at the bridges they were to pass over, to see that none had more horse with them than were allowed them at the disbanding place. Wednesday, the 25th, the general and lieutenant-general, and some of the general officers, went to Ply-

mouth, and viewed the forts and works, whilst the army marched another way, by Launceston: the governor and the town entertaining the general very honourably, 300 pieces of ordnance discharged to welcome him thither.

Thursday, the 26th, the parliament-men and other gentlemen of the country met the general at Plymouth; conference was had concerning the defensive posture of that county, and the speedy sending over of the French that were disbanded; and accordingly ships were provided.

Friday, the 27th, the general marched from Plymouth to Okehampton, four and twenty miles, by Tavistock, and the army marched from Launceston that day within five miles of Okehampton.

Saturday, the 28th, his excellency had news of sir Jacob Ashley's being taken, and of the routing of his army by the forces under the command of colonel Morgan, sir William Brereton, and colonel Birch, and of sir Charles Lucas being taken by colonel Fleetwood, who with his horse hindered the conjunction of all the Oxford horse with the lord Ashley. The general rested this day at Okehampton till the rest of the army came up.

Lord's day, March 29, they marched from Okehampton to Crediton, fourteen miles; some part of the army went that night to Newton Siers, being eighteen miles: orders were given to possess Heavytree, a village lying within half a mile of Excester, lest the enemy should sally out, and burn those villages upon the approach of the army.

Monday, March 30, the general resting at Crediton, some more foot advanced close to Excester; a summons was prepared to be sent in.

Tuesday, March 31, the general drew all his army

round the city within musket shot; and as he passed by them, at every post, our men that lay there gave a volley of shot and a great shout; and so on the other side the river, there being bridges made over; and presently after his excellency sent in a summons, and came to quarter that night at Columb John, the rest of the army to Silverton and other parts. The summons being prepared was sent in, and ran thus:

SIR,

Being returned with my army from the west, where God in his wisdom saw it good to bestow a dry and bloodless victory upon me, to the great peace and quiet of those parts, and conceiving it my duty likewise to endeavour the good of this county, which by the occasion of your garrison is necessarily obstructed, I thought fit once more to send you a summons to deliver up to me the city of Excester, with the castle, forts, arms, ammunition, and magazine belonging to the same; believing that by this time you are satisfied of the relief from the prince's army, and may equally be of all relief to come from any other place, if your intelligence and knowledge were the same with ours: there is nothing more induceth me hereunto than an unfeigned zeal toward any bloodshed, and, as much as in me lies, to preserve that city, which hath already suffered deeply in these unnatural distractions, from further or greater misery: though I shall not boast of my numbers or strength, yet I must needs tell you that I doubt not but the same power which hath formerly made difficult things easy, will answer this, and will acquit me from being accounted the occasion of those inconveniences and miseries which necessarily will ensue upon your refusal. Sir, I shall expect your speedy and positive answer herein, and rest,

Your servant,

March 31, 1646.

THO. FAIRFAX.

Wednesday, April 1, sir John Berkeley returned this answer to the summons:

SIR,

Upon your summons, I called a council of war, where, after

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some debate, it was determined to treat with you, or with whom you should appoint, and to conclude upon just and honourable terms: and to that purpose, I desire a safeconduct for these persons to repair to your headquarters, with their servants, on Friday morning, and to return at their pleasure: I remain,

Your servant,

April 1, 1646.

JOHN BERKELEY.

Those first named by sir John Berkeley were,

Sir Henry Berkeley.	Capt. Fitz. Garret.
Mr. Wil. Ashburnham.	Mr. Robert Walker.
Sir George Cary.	Mr. Thomas Knight.
Mr. Jo. Weare.	Mr. Thomas Kendal.
Colonel Godolphine.	Mr. Thomas Foard.

Whereupon, Thursday, April 2, his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax returned this answer:

SIR,

I have received yours, whereby I understand, that in pursuance of my demand in my summons, you have determined to treat with me by commissioners; and in order to that have sent a list of ten gentlemen, which you desire for commissioners on your behalf, of which there is none in particular that I take exceptions unto; yet because I desire to carry on the business with clearness and expedition, which by so great a number cannot be so well effected, I thought fit to propound unto you the number of six, that being as many as conveniently can be used in a business of this nature: upon your consent hereunto and answer, I shall, according to your desire, send you a safeconduct for a proportionable number of commissioners; and in the mean time shall rest,

Your servant,

April 1, 1646.

THO. FAIRFAX.

I agree the time to begin on Friday next, according

to your desire; the place Poultimore-house; I have sent a list of the commissioners on my part:

Lieut. gen. Hammond.	Col. Harley.
Col. sir Hardress Waller.	Col. Fry.
Col. Lambert.	Commissary Stane.

Thursday April the 2nd, commissioners were appointed, and a safeconduct granted: Friday the 3rd, the treaty began at Poultimore, S. Jo. Bamfield's house. This day his excellency had the news of the surrender of Deniston: Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the treaty continued, sitting close at it every day and the most part of the night, till they had concluded it. That which most retarded the proceeding was, some high demands and fruitless queries in behalf of the clergy, viz. the bishops, deans, prebends, and other cathedral men there, wherein our commissioners held them up to what was reasonable; and after much time consumed therein, they were willing to accept of what we were willing to grant, and so on Thursday, April the 9th, the articles were signed by sir John Berkeley, in the presence of our commissioners, and by the general in the presence of their commissioners; which articles were as followeth.

Only, first, let it be remembered, that after there was an entrance upon the treaty at Excester, and that it was probable to come to a good conclusion, his excellency losing no time, sent commissary-general Ireton, with his own regiment, and colonel Riche's, and some other regiments of horse, to Oxford, to hinder provisions from going in thither, and to take all advantages against the enemy: his excellency intending to make all speed himself, after the work done at Excester, to lay siege thereto.

Articles of agreement concluded on by Thomas Hammond, lieutenant-general of the ordnance, colonel sir Hardress Waller, colonel Edward Harley, colonel Lambert, commissary-general Stane, and major Watson, scoutmaster-general, commissioners on the behalf of the right honourable his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the parliament's forces, on the one party; and sir Henry Berkeley, sir George Cary, colonel Ashburnham, colonel Godolphin, captain Fitz-Gerald, master Jo. Weare, master Robert Walker, and master Thomas Knight, commissioners on the behalf of sir John Berkeley knight, governor of the city of Excester, on the other party, touching and concerning the rendition of the said city and garrison, as followeth:

I. That the city and garrison of Excester, together with the castle, and all forts and mounts, places of defence, of or belonging to the same, with all ordnance, arms, and ammunition, provisions and furniture of war belonging to the garrison, (excepting what shall be excepted in the ensuing articles,) shall be delivered unto sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the parliament's forces, or to any whom he shall appoint to receive them, for the use of the parliament, on Monday next after the date hereof, being the thirteenth of this instant April, by twelve of the clock at noon.

II. That if any officer, soldier, or any person included in these articles, wrong or plunder in person or goods (in their march away or before) any citizen or countryman, or any person whatsoever, he shall, as far as he is able, give satisfaction to the persons so injured at the judgment of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax.

III. That if any officer, soldier, or any person (included in these articles) shall, after the date hereof, wilfully break, deface, spoil, or embezzle any arms, or other provisions of war whatsoever, by the precedent articles to be surrendered as aforesaid, he shall lose the benefit of the ensuing articles.

IV. That the princess Henrietta and her governess, with her household, shall have full liberty to pass with their plate, moneys, and goods, within twenty days after the conclusion of this treaty, (when she shall desire,) to any place within the continent of England or dominion of Wales, at the elec-

tion of the governess, and there to remain until his majesty's pleasure be further known touching her settling; and that the governess shall have liberty to send to the king, to know his pleasure herein, accordingly to dispose of her highness within the aforesaid limitation of places, and that fit and convenient carriages be provided for their passage, at reasonable rates.

V. That the cathedral church, nor any other church within the city shall be defaced, or any thing belonging thereunto spoiled or taken away by any soldier or person of either side whatsoever.

VI. That the governor, together with all lords, clergymen, gentlemen, captains, officers, troopers, and common soldiers, shall march out of the city on Monday next, the 13th of April, by twelve of the clock at noon, with their horses, full arms, bag and baggage, and their goods, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted, bullets, full bandaliers, with sufficient convoys unto Oxford, or unto Helston in Cornwall, at their several elections, and in case the governor of Oxford shall refuse to receive the common soldiers that shall march thither, they are there to deliver up their arms to the convoy, and have passes to repair to their several homes, and those that march unto Helston are there to be disbanded, and to have passes to their several homes. That all troopers and common soldiers which march not as aforesaid shall deliver up their arms, except their swords, and have liberty to go to their own homes with bag and baggage, and shall not be compelled to take up arms against the king; provided also that all officers and gentlemen that shall choose to go to Oxford, and not taking up arms, shall repair into the parliament's quarters within forty days after the date hereof, and shall enjoy the benefit of these articles.

VII. That all those which shall march to the garrisons aforesaid shall have free quarter in their march, and not be obliged to march above ten miles a day, and that such other soldiers as are inhabitants in the city shall receive free liberty to march out or remain therein, without being compelled to take up arms against the king: and if any soldiers fall sick upon their march, that convenient carriages and accommodations shall be provided for them.

VIII. That all lords, gentlemen, clergymen, chaplains, and officers, that shall choose to go beyond the seas, shall march away with their full arms for their own use; and that all common soldiers shall march away with their full arms, with a sufficient convoy unto the port which they shall choose for their transportation: which arms they shall there lay down and deliver unto the governor of the next garrison belonging to the parliament; the said governor providing for their safety during the time of their abode there, where they shall be assisted for the procuring vessels and shipping for their transportation at the accustomed rates, and shall have free quarter for one and twenty days allowed to provide for their passage. After which time shall be expired, the same officers and soldiers paying for their quarters, shall have liberty to stay until shipping be provided, and weather seasonable; and that during their stay, or before, it shall be permitted, that any two of them may go to London, to treat with any foreign ambassador or agent, for a commission to be entertained beyond the seas.

IX. That neither the officers, soldiers, nor any person whatsoever, in their going out of the city, shall be reproached, or have any disgraceful speeches or affront offered to them, or any of their persons wronged, rifled, searched, or their goods seized, or taken away from them by any person whatsoever.

X. That the governor, lords, gentlemen, clergymen, chaplains, commanders, officers and soldiers, comprised in these articles, shall be allowed and assisted in providing of sufficient carriages at reasonable rates to carry away their bag, baggage, and goods; and that care be taken, by the future governor of the said city, for the curing of such sick or wounded officers and soldiers as shall be left in the city, and that upon recovery they shall have passes to repair to their own houses respectively.

XI. That the parliament forces come not into the city until the king's forces be marched out, except 150 foot, and one troop of horse, with their officers.

XII. That no lords, knights, gentlemen, clergymen, chaplains, (excepting those who are by name excepted by parliament from pardon and composition,) officers, citizens, and

soldiers, and all other persons comprised within these articles, shall be questioned or accountable for any act past by them done, (or by any other by their procurement,) relating unto the unhappy differences betwixt his majesty and parliament, they submitting themselves to reasonable and moderate composition for their estates, which the general, sir Thomas Fairfax, shall really endeavour with the parliament, that it shall not exceed two years' value of any man's real estate respectively, and for personal, according to the ordinary rule, not exceeding the proportion aforesaid; which composition being made, they shall have indemnity for their persons, and enjoy their estates and all other immunities, without payment of any fifth or twentieth part, or any other taxes or impositions, except what shall be hereafter charged upon them in common with other subjects of this kingdom, by authority of parliament.

XIII. That all lords, knights, gentlemen, clergy, and chaplains, (excepted in the precedent articles,) shall have liberty to go unto any of the king's garrisons, and to have a safe-conduct for themselves and servants, to go unto the parliament to obtain their composition for their estates, and indemnity for their persons; which (though it prove ineffectual) yet nevertheless they shall have four months' time next after the date of these articles, to endeavour their peace, or to go beyond the seas, and shall have passes for that purpose.

XIV. That all horses, arms, money, and other goods whatsoever, taken as lawful prizes of war, before or during the siege, now in the city, be continued in the possession of the present possessors.

XV. That all officers, gentlemen, citizens, inhabitants, clergymen, chaplains, soldiers, and all other persons within the city, during the time of their making their composition, shall have free liberty either to inhabit within the same city, or shall have free liberty at any time to depart with their families, goods, and estates, unto any part of this kingdom in the parliament's quarters; and before composition made, the merchants and tradesmen to enjoy their merchandising and trades; and after composition made, all others (now prohibited by ordinances of parliament) to enjoy and exercise

their professions, or go beyond the seas; and they, and every of them, shall have power to dispose and sell to their own uses, either by themselves or others, whatsoever part of their goods or estates they shall not carry or convey away with them; and all inhabitants, which did inhabit within the city, within seven months past, having made their compositions as abovesaid, shall enjoy the benefit of this and the twelfth and the two and twentieth articles.

XVI. That all charters, customs, privileges, franchises, liberties, lands, estates, goods, and debts, of the mayor, aldermen, bailiff, commonalty, as a corporation, and all other corporations of the said city, shall be enjoyed by them, and that the ancient government thereof remain as formerly.

XVII. That if any persons or inhabitants which are comprised within these articles shall break any of them, that such breach shall only touch and concern such persons, and they to make such satisfaction for the same as the cause doth require.

XVIII. That all persons comprised within these articles shall have a certificate under the hand of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, or the future governor of the city, that such persons were in the city at that time of the surrendering thereof, and are to have the benefit of these articles.

XIX. That his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax give assurance, that all officers and soldiers in the parliament's army, and all others under his command, shall duly and exactly observe all articles aforesaid: and that if they or any of them shall directly or indirectly violate or infringe the same, upon complaint thereof, justice may be done, and reparation made.

XX. That the inhabitants of the city shall be eased and freed from all free quarter or billet of soldiers, except in cases of urgent necessity, other than for lodging, and that to be ordered and disposed by the advice of the mayor or his deputy.

XXI. That no oath, covenant, protestation, or subscription (relating thereunto) shall be imposed upon any person whatsoever comprised within these articles, but only such as shall bind all persons aforesaid not to bear arms against the parliament of England now sitting at Westminster, nor wilfully

do any act prejudicial unto their affairs, whilst they remain in their quarters; except the persons aforesaid shall first render themselves unto the parliament, who shall cause them to be secured if they think fit.

XXII. That for the further and clearer understanding of the precedent articles, it is hereby declared, that the true meaning of them is, that all persons comprised within these articles shall quietly and peaceably enjoy all their goods, debts, and movables during the space of four months next ensuing, and be free from all oaths, covenants, and protestations, and have liberty within the time of the said four months, in case they shall not make their composition with the parliament, (and shall be resolved to go beyond seas,) to dispose of their said goods, debts, and movables allowed by these articles, and to depart the kingdom if they shall think fit, and to have passes for that purpose, or otherwise to stay in the kingdom.

XXIII. That Mount Radford, and the ward in St. Thomas parish, with the provisions of war thereunto belonging, be delivered unto his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, or whom he shall appoint to receive them, in assurance of the performance of the precedent articles, to morrow by six of the clock in the afternoon, being the 7th of April; and that four such gentlemen or officers as his excellency shall approve of shall be delivered at the same time as hostages for the performance of the foregoing articles on the one part, and two hostages, such as sir John Berkeley, knight, governor of the city of Excester shall approve of, and appoint to be received for performance on the other part.

XXIV. Lastly, that these articles be ratified and confirmed mutually by his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax on the one part, and sir John Berkeley, knight, governor of the city, on the other part.

I do hereby ratify and confirm the articles abovesaid, agreed on by the commissioners on my part.

THO. FAIRFAX.

April 9, 1646.

The conditions, it is confessed, are honourable for the enemy's acceptance, yet no way dishonourable for sol-

diers to grant, considering the consequence of the timely surrender of that place.

The time for the surrender of the town was not till Monday, they desiring that time to put up their baggage, and prepare themselves to march forth: the general thinking it not fit to lose so much time as to stay till Monday, (though the weather was unseasonable,) marched away that night, after the articles were signed, to Tiverton, designing his march for Barnstaple.

CHAPTER VI.

The particulars of the treaty and surrender of Barnstaple: and the resolutions and motions of the army after the reduction thereof till they came to Oxford.

FRIDAY the 10th, the general came before Barnstaple, summoned the town, and received a civil answer from the governor, inclining to a treaty; which began the next day, and held all that day and part of the day following, which was the Lord's day, (when it was concluded, much upon the same articles in effect with those of Excester,) and the castle and the town was delivered into our hands, as a security for surrender of the fort at eight days' end; colonel Sheffield being appointed by the general to stay till the surrender, and see the articles performed.

This treaty was carried on and concluded by commissary-general Stane, who was sole commissioner for his excellency, a gentleman of great fidelity, who, for this and sundry other actions of advantage to this army, well deserves an honourable mentioning.

Upon the concluding of Barnstaple articles, two regiments of foot were commanded from before Barnstaple to march to Dunster, and to face the castle,

whilst the general's summons was sent in to the governor, who embraced a treaty, and after some time spent in capitulations surrendered the castle to colonel Blake.

Monday the 13th, the general set his face toward Excester, desirous to have been there to have seen their marching forth, that the articles might not be violated; but the weather proved so unreasonable wet, that he came short: but such was the vigilancy of the lieutenant-general and the officers, and indeed such was the temper of the army, that there was not the least violation of the articles.

I shall conclude this narration of Excester with the commemoration of the great diligence, faithfulness, and industry of sir Hardress Waller, who being left in trust by the general (when he marched into Cornwall) with the command of the forces on both sides of Excester, to straiten the enemy, and hinder them of provisions, and keep the enemy from making incursions into the country, performed therein the part of a gallant gentleman and an experienced soldier.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of April, the general stayed in Excester, settled things in order, to the safety of that place; and for the ease of the country, and, that he might keep his own army entire for more public service, reduced three country regiments of foot into one, viz. the regiment of colonel Shapcoat, who had done good service at Tiverton and the fort at Exmouth; and the regiment which colonel Fry had very readily raised for the then present service of the west; and the regiment of colonel Weare, which had been likewise employed in the same service. These three regiments formed into one was ordered for the defence of the garrison of Excester, under the command of colonel

Hammond, whom the general appointed governor of the garrison.

Saturday, April 18, the general began his march toward Oxford, and quartered that night at Chard (being eighteen miles from Excester); the foot and train having had orders two days before to advance forward. Several informations came from our forces before Oxford, that it was common talk in Oxford that the king would escape thence; others said, that he would come into this army; and others conjectured (that which since hath fallen out) that he would go another way: all care was taken by our forces thereabouts, (as you may well think it concerned them,) that this prize, at last, might not escape them.

Sunday the 19th, the general marched to Dorchester, where most of the army quartered that night. Monday the 20th, the general marched from Dorchester to Salisbury, the train and foot to Blandford: the general stayed at Salisbury Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the while the army and train of artillery were come up, and till all that were behind were come up from their several quarters. Sundry complaints were brought thither unto his excellency of the violation of Excester and Cornwall articles by the committees' troops of several counties taking from divers their horses and arms, and other necessaries, which by the articles they were to carry away with them: an act of so much incivility to the general, as well as injustice to the sufferers, as deserves to be noted *nigro carbone*, but that I know his excellency desires not such revenge: but so many barbarisms of this kind were there, as, were they particularly related, would make such a volume as would scarce be imagined.

Friday the 24th, part of the army marched to Andover, whither the general also purposed to have gone

that night; but Providence ordered it otherwise, detaining him at Salisbury till next morning, and then he went to Andover, where the headquarter was that night: lieutenant-general Cromwell was two or three days before gone for London, at the general's desire, to give the parliament an account of the state of the west of England, which God had now so happily reduced to their obedience.

Sunday the 26th, the general rested at Andover, where he received the news that Woodstock was surrendered upon treaty unto colonel Rainsborow, who had gallantly attempted it by storm some few days before, wherein he received some loss.

Monday the 27th, the general marched to Newbury, where the next day he received intelligence of the king's being escaped out of Oxford in a disguised manner, with his lock cut off, or tied up at least, his beard shaved, and in the habit of a servingman^a, with a cloakbag behind him, waiting upon master John Ashburnham: great doubting and questioning there was, whither his majesty was gone, but within few days after, it was resolved, by certain intelligence, that he was received into the Scots' army, being first entertained at the quarters of the French agent, who not long before had been in Oxford.

It is much to the honour of his excellency's army to

^a *Positisque insignibus aulæ*

Egreditur, famuli raptos indutus amictus.

In dubiis tutum est inopem simulare tyranno.

Quanto igitur mundi dominis securius ævum

Verus pauper agit! Lucan, Pharsalia, VIII. 239.

—In a distressed time

'Tis safe for kings like poorest men to seem:

Therefore how much lives he that's truly poor

Safer than kings?

be mentioned, and to the honour of those officers in particular, to whom, being then about Woodstock, private overtures were made by some from court, (pretending the king's privity and consent thereto,) for receiving his majesty, who was minded to cast himself upon them: but to their great honour be it known and published, such was their tenderness and faithfulness in that point, that, conceiving it derogatory to the honour and power of the parliament, (for his majesty to wave that highest court, and address himself to any others in such a nature,) and therefore inconsistent with their trust and duty, being the servants of the state, to own or entertain any such thing, they certified the parliament thereof, and understanding this to be their sense also, they absolutely refused to be tampered with concerning that matter. The king, on the other hand, was as little to be wrought upon to address himself to his parliament, the issue whereof was that precipitate resolution and disposal of himself as is related before. And now, O England, take up a lamentation over your king, that, to all his errors, he should contract such obstinacy and irreconcilable prejudice against his parliament, and that he should be so far mistaken, as, while he seeks to avoid the surmised prejudice and dishonour of referring himself to his parliament, to run himself on a real dishonour in seeking a shadow under their servants! Unhappy greatness, that privileges kings from hearing of their faults plainly as meaner men, and splits them on the shelf of self-willed obstinacy, rather than it will suffer them to amend or acknowledge them! But it is not my work to comment, but to relate; only to set a character on the integrity of this army, I have said thus much: it may be thought too much niceness and scrupulosity in them to refuse such a proffer, but whosoever shall

consider what is hinted before, must approve of their doing; if others had done the like, they had done but their duty.

Thursday the 30th, his excellency marched to East-Hondred: this day the duke of Lenox, earl of Lindsay, and others came from Oxford to Woodstock, and rendered themselves to our forces there: also sir William Vaughan, sir George Strowd, sir Philip Mountaine, sir John Cansfield, and divers others, came in to commissary-general Ireton, with about 300 horse, after the king had given them the slip, much about the same time.

CHAPTER VII.

The siege of Oxford, the particulars of the treaty, and surrender thereof; with the influence of the fate of Oxford upon the remaining garrisons.

OXFORD, the king's royal garrison, the place of the king's ordinary residence and retreat, hath, like a parenthesis, included all the action of this army between the two sieges of it, being first in intention and attempt, though last in execution and reduction.

May the 1st, being that day twelvemonth that this army first marched into the field, the general with his army came before Oxford, (wherein was prince Rupert, prince Maurice, and a great part of the nobility and gentry of England,) with intention to sit down before it, and lay siege to it. The army was drawn to a rendezvous between Abingdon and Garsington; the headquarter was that night at Garsington: at the rendezvous major-general Skippon, who ever since the battle at Naseby had lain under the cure of his wounds, and had suffered divers incisions, by reason of a piece of armour which was lodged in the wound, being now (by the blessing of God) well recovered, came to the army,

and was received with much joy and many acclamations of the soldiers.

May the 2nd, there was a general rendezvous of the army, horse and foot, upon Bullington-Green, and thence the forces were distributed to several quarters, at Headington, Marston, and the towns thereabouts.

The 3rd of May, the general with the officers of the army took a survey of Oxford, which they found to have received many material alterations and additions of advantage since their last being before it; and though it was always justly accounted a place of great strength, yet now it was made incomparably more strong than ever; [which is very easy to be believed, if you do but consider, it had been from the beginning of the wars the king's headquarter and garrison, his chief place of residence and retreat, where his council, and most of the nobility that had left the parliament, attended him: its place, being almost in the centre of the kingdom, gave it no small advantage for the sending out of parties upon any design. Besides that, it was surrounded about with many small garrisons of the king's, as Radcoat, Farringdon, Wallingford, Sherborne-house, Borstal, which were as so many outworks unto it;] the situation of it, in reference to the ground it stood upon, rendered it very apt for defence, being placed betwixt the two rivers Isis and Cherwell; upon the west side of it ran several branches of the river Isis, some of which running close by the town walls was a great defence to it; upon the east side ran the river Cherwell, which by making locks at Clement's bridge, they had caused to overflow the meadows, so that round the city, to the extent of three parts of it, (all except the north side, that was somewhat higher ground,) was surrounded with water, and absolutely unapproachable: to this the line about the city (newly finished) they

found to be very high, having many strong bulwarks so regularly flanking one another, that nothing could be more exactly done: round about the line, both upon the bulwarks and the curtain, was strongly set with storm-poles; upon the outside of the ditch, round the line, it was strongly pallisadoed, and without that again were digged several pits in the ground, that a single footman could not without difficulty approach the brink of the ditch: within the town there was 5000 good foot, most of them of the king's old infantry, which served him from the beginning of the wars, and withal they were well stored with a plentiful magazine of victuals, ammunition, and provisions for war; in a word, whatever art or industry could do to make a place impregnable was very liberally bestowed here. All which strength being apprehended and considered by the general, he concluded that this was no place to be taken at a running pull, but likely rather to prove a business of time, hazard, and industry: whereupon, at a council of war at Headington, it was resolved to fix our quarters: our first quarter to be upon Headington-hill, where was ordered to be made a very large and great work, or intrenchment, of capacity to receive and lodge 3000 men: as also, that a bridge should be laid over the river Cherwell close by Marston, that another quarter might be gone in hand withal between the rivers, wherein it was intended most of our foot should be lodged, that being all the ground we had to approach on: warrants were sent out unto the country round about for spades, pickaxes, &c., for that purpose; as also, a letter to the committee for the army to hasten more ammunition, with all requisites for the siege, as tents for soldiers, &c., from London; which were no sooner come from thence, but the great work upon Headington-hill was instantly fallen in hand

withal, and finished in three or four days' time, to admiration; the soldiers being paid so much by the rod for working thereat: this work was committed to major-general Skippon. In the meantime, the bridge intended was made over the river Cherwell, near Marston, where another quarter was possessed, and a line drawn from Isis to Cherwell, and a great work made on that side the water: colonel Rainsborough commanded this work. There was a third, under the command of colonel Lambert; the fourth, of colonel Herbert; and a line was begun to be drawn from the great fort on Headington-hill over against St. Clement's.

The management and carrying on of these works, lines, and approaches, was recommended to the care and skill of major-general Skippon, who went through the same with much dexterity.

By the intelligence of divers that came out of the city, his excellency was further satisfied and confirmed concerning the enemy's great strength within, and provision for to hold out.

So soon as the several posts were assigned to the army before Oxford, several forces were taken forth and designed for the blocking up of other garrisons, viz. some for Farringdon, under the command of colonel sir Robert Pye; others for Radcot, under the command of colonel Cook; and others for Wallingford, under the command of colonel Paine and colonel Barkestend on Berkshire side, and colonel Temple on Oxfordshire side; others for Borstal-house; and as many horse as could be spared were sent towards Worcester, for the straitening of that garrison, till such time as the army were at liberty to advance thither: an account of all which severally shall be given in due place.

But before I proceed any further, an account of the surrender of Banbury-castle comes next to be given in.

Banbury, once a great and fair market-town before the late troubles, (but now having scarce the one half standing to gaze on the ruins of the other,) was ever till now unfortunate in all means and endeavours used for its recovery, having lain under the possession and tyranny of the enemy from the beginning, without almost any intermission, which happened to it partly through the commodiousness of its situation for the enemy, as lying but eighteen miles north from Oxford, and in such a convenient place as gave it a command into divers other counties, viz. Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, &c., from out of which it gathered large contributions for Oxford; the sweetness that the enemy tasted in the fruits and effects they reaped by this garrison, made them, that upon all our attempts to reduce it they still were ready with great forces to relieve it. But yet I cannot but also look upon and observe therein a special hand and intimation of God against that professing place, where in a manner judgment began, as at the house of God, and was removed with one of the last—I pray God sanctify it to them.

The strange sights that were seen over that town sixteen years ago, in the night-time, when as the appearance of fighting, pikes pushing one against another, was discerned in the air, &c., whereof I was an eyewitness, with many others, might portend the portion which Providence hath since prepared for them.

The forces employed in the reducing of that place were about 1000 foot, and some four troops of horse, all under the command of that approved gentleman colonel Whaley: they lay eleven weeks before the castle; so soon as they came before it, they entrenched themselves by a line drawn round the town, for their better security from any force without: which done, they sapt up towards the castle, ran over several gal-

leries, over the outmost moat, and so wrought into the enemy's works; the enemy countermining them, sprang one mine upon them, but, through God's mercy, did no great hurt; and also flinging down stones upon them, and hand-granadoes amongst them, rendered their duty very hard and hazardous; yet, through the goodness of God and the courage of the soldiers, we wrought so far into the enemy's works, as put them out of all hopes of keeping the castle, which constrained them to a parley and surrender of the castle, arms, ordnance, ammunition, and victuals, upon these ensuing articles: viz.

I. The governor sir William Compton, and sir Charles Compton his brother, to march forth with one horse and arms apiece, two servants attending them, and to have two months' liberty to go beyond sea.

II. All captains to march forth with one horse apiece, and their swords.

III. All the rest to march forth without arms, to be disbanded a mile from the town, to have passes to march to their several homes or to go beyond sea, and to have free quarter, marching ten miles a day.

IV. All, both officers and soldiers, to leave half their moneys behind them.

There were found in the castle eleven pieces of ordnance, eleven barrels of powder, and 400 arms.

This castle, though old and decayed through time, yet was recovered and revived by art and industry, unto an incredible strength, much beyond many places of greater name and reputation, and often had our forces been defeated before it; and but that now was God's time and season for the rendition of it, no other success could have been expected by these forces, the castle standing in its full pride and strength, being well recovered of all its wounds and batteries received in former assaults; and having impregnable works about it, and great variety of invention be-

stowed upon it. But to return from whence I digressed.

The four quarters being settled under their cannon shot, and a line begun to be drawn from the great fort on Headington-hill round St. Clement's, (lying without Magdalen bridge,) his excellency sent in a summons to sir Thomas Glemham, governor of Oxford, requiring the surrender of that garrison: the copy whereof followeth:

SIR,

I do by these summon you to deliver up the city of Oxford into my hands, for the use of the parliament; I very much desire the preservation of that place (so famous for learning) from ruin, which inevitably is like to fall upon it, except you concur: you may have honourable terms for yourself, and all within the garrison, if you seasonably accept thereof. I desire your answer this day, and remain

Your servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

May 11, 1646.

The same day also his excellency sent a summons to the governor of Borstal-house, to the same effect for the substance; the copy whereof followeth:

SIR,

I do by these summon you to deliver up the garrison of Borstal-house into my hands, for the use of the parliament; you may have honourable terms for yourself and all within your garrison, if you seasonably accept thereof. I desire your answer this day.

THO. FAIRFAX.

May 11, 1646.

As also the like to Radcoat.

And the same to Wallingford.

These four summons were sent to the several garrisons May the 11th.

Sir Thomas Glemham, governor of Oxford, returned answer to the summons the same day, as followeth :

SIR,

I have received your letter, summoning me to surrender the city, which was given me in trust for his majesty's use ; but in respect there are many persons of eminency, I must desire you to receive for answer a request, that you will be pleased to send a safeconduct for sir John Mounson and master Philip Warwick, to repair unto you at such a time and place as you shall appoint, by whom you shall understand what for the present is desired. I remain

Your humble servant,

THO. GLEMHAM.

May 11, 1646.

According as was desired, passes were granted for sir John Mounson and master Philip Warwick, to come out of Oxford that day, and meet our commissioners, colonel Rainsborough, colonel Harlow, and colonel Lambert, who were ready to receive them at the time and place appointed : that which they had in commission was a desire from the governor, sir Thomas Glemham, of liberty to send to the king to know his pleasure, upon signification whereof from his majesty they would return a positive answer to his excellency immediately.

Our commissioners endeavoured to persuade them the vanity of any such desire, and the general's impatience of any such delay, advising them rather to take the present opportunity, lest they afterwards fell short of these terms they might now have by present compliance.

But sir John Mounson and master Warwick (it seems) were so bound up and limited in their commissions, that at present they could not undertake any thing in answer hereto, but returning to Oxford, took time till the morrow, promising more then. One

of the general's trumpeters was appointed to go with them into Oxford, to bring their answer the next morning.

On Tuesday, May 12, the trumpeter returned with a desire from sir Thomas Glemham, that in regard there were, besides the duke of York and the two princes, many other persons of eminency, lords, knights, and parliament men, (otherwise juncto men,) and other gentry and clergy, besides the inhabitants, all concerned in the business, (to whom things could not possibly be represented fully in so short a time,) that further time might be granted by his excellency.

Whereupon, that what time would be lost that way might be saved the other, all things went on for the siege, the despatch of the line was hastened, and order was given for the drawing up of the batteries.

The same day prince Rupert, and with him near 100 horse, went forth of Oxford on colonel Rainsborough's side, to take the air ; (prince Rupert riding without boots, only in his shoes and stockings;) a party of our men marched up towards them, and fired upon them ; in which skirmish prince Rupert had a shot in the right shoulder, (but pierced no bone,) whereupon they retreated to Oxford, where all sorts were very busy that day and the two following days, consulting and advising.

But in issue, Thursday 14, the governor of Oxford sent to make known his desire to treat by commissioners, which was accepted of ; and a council of war being called, it was concluded of master Crook's house at Marston should be the place, and on Monday following the treaty to begin.

May the 15th, the enemy made another sally out of Oxford, and a party of ours skirmished with them ; we lost two men.

Lord's day, May 17, the governor of Oxford sent forth the names of the commissioners for treaty on his behalf, desiring his excellency to return the like number.

The names of both were,

*On sir Tho. Glemham's
part,*

Sir John Mounson.
Sir John Heyden.
Sir Thomas Gardner.
Sir George Bynion.
Sir Richard Willis.
Sir Stephen Hawkins.
Colonel Gosnold.
Colonel Tyllier.
Doctor Zouch.
Thomas Chisley, esq.
M. John Dutton.
M. Jeffrey Palmer.
M. Philip Warwick.
Capt. Robert Mead.

*On his excellency sir Tho.
Fairfax's part.*

Lieut.-gen. Hammond.
Colonel Ireton.
Colonel Lambert.
Colonel Rich.
Colonel Harley.
Scoutmaster-gen. Watson.
Major Desborough.
Major Harrison.
M. Herbert.
M. Waller.

Four more to be named
afterwards.

Upon the receipt of the names of the Oxford commissioners, sir George Bynion was excepted, as being exempted from pardon by the parliament's propositions.

Much about this time also was brought to the army the news of the surrender of Newark; it had been long besieged on the one side by major-general Poyntz, and on the other side by the Scottish forces. It was yielded to the English forces, commanded by major-general Poyntz, who had given abundant demonstration of no less faithfulness and diligence than expert soldiery in his attendance on that service. The Scottish forces presently upon the king's coming to them retreated back in great haste from Newark northward, before the town was delivered, or the articles signed,

pretending the cause of sir Thomas Fairfax's army advancing toward them; whereof there was little likelihood, they being engaged before Oxford, nor did so much as a horse stir that way. But to return to the siege of Oxford.

A treaty being resolved and accepted on both sides, and to begin Monday the 18th, sir Thomas Glemham sent to the general, desiring, that in regard it was usual at all treaties to have a secretary on each part, that master H. Davison, his secretary, might have a pass to come forth with their commissioners; which was assented unto; and master William Clark was appointed to assist the commissioners on our part. The commissioners on the behalf of the governor and garrison of Oxford made their demands, which his excellency sent up to the parliament by colonel Rich and scoutmaster-general Watson, two of the commissioners for the treaty, on his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax's part, putting off the treaty till the pleasure of the parliament were known concerning them. The heads of some of the principal of them were these; viz.

1. To have liberty to send to the king, to know his majesty's pleasure, whether they shall surrender or not.
2. That prince Rupert and prince Maurice have protection to remain in any part of this kingdom, to have no oath imposed on them, to be at liberty to do as shall seem good unto them at any time hereafter.
3. The governor and all officers and soldiers to march out in as full equipage as any since these wars; with six guns, ten barrels of powder, and to have thirty days' time to know the king's pleasure how he will dispose of them.
4. The privy-seal and great seal to go to the king. And such as these.

The house of commons, upon reading of them, conceived them so high, that they thought not fit so much as to debate them, but referred it to the general in

what way he thought fit to prosecute the reducing of that place.

May 24, or within a day sooner or later, was Radcoat-house surrendered, after it had endured great extremity by our granadoes, one whereof falling on the top of a tower, made fearful work, tearing it into a thousand pieces, and sending it several ways, and at last falling into the cellar let out all their beer. There were 100 men in it, who were to go to their several homes, leaving their arms behind them.

His excellency, upon the forementioned return from the parliament, prepared propositions to offer to the garrison, and sent them into Oxford on Saturday, May 30. Whereupon, at the desire of the enemy, the treaty (which upon their flying so high in their demands, had been discontinued, if not broken off) was renewed again, they being willing to treat upon his excellency's propositions, submitting therein (as themselves said) to the fate of the kingdom, rather than any way distrusting their own strength, or the garrison's tenableness.

During this treaty, a captain of the garrison of Oxford was taken (in a fisherman's habit) carrying letters to the king from sir Thomas Glemham and secretary Nicholas, relating the condition of the garrison, and how long probably they could hold out.

A few days before the treaty ended, when the enemy perceived it was like to succeed, they played with their cannon day and night into our leaguers and quarters, discharging sometimes near 200 shots in a day, at random, as was conceived, rather to spend their powder than to do any great execution, though they showed good skill, in that they levelled their pieces so as they shot into the leaguer on Headington-hill, (and on that side lieutenant-colonel Cotsworth was slain with a great

shot,) and likewise into the leaguer on colonel Rainsborough's side, where they killed with their shot a sutler and others in their tents: our cannon in recompense played fiercely upon the enemy, and much annoyed them in their works and colleges till at last a cessation of great shot was agreed to on both sides.

Upon Saturday, June the 20th, the treaty for the surrender of Oxford was finished between the commissioners, and concluded upon the ensuing articles.

The same morning that the treaty for Oxford was concluded, Farringdon garrison sent also to capitulate, the governor thereof, sir George Lisle, being then in Oxford, and, to be brief, surrendered upon condition to have the benefit of Oxford articles; and so they were included in the same agreement.

Articles of agreement concluded and agreed June the 20th, by the right honourable sir Richard Lane, knight, lord keeper of the great seal of England, Francis lord Cottington, lord high treasurer of England, William marquis of Hertford, Edward earl of Dorset, lord chamberlain of his majesty's honourable household, Thomas earl of Southampton, Francis earl of Chichester, Francis lord Seymour, sir Edward Nicholas knight, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, all of them being of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and sir Thomas Glemham, knight, and governor of Oxford, on the one party; and his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, knight, general of the forces raised for the parliament, on the other party, for and concerning the rendering of the garrison of Oxford, as followeth:

That the garrison of Oxford, with the castle, forts, mounts, and places of defence whatsoever, with all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provisions of war, with all magazines and stores thereunto belonging, excepting what is allowed in the ensuing articles, shall be delivered to the general sir Thomas Fairfax, or whom he shall appoint, without wilful spoil or embezzlement, upon Wednesday the 24th of this instant June 1646, at ten of the clock in the morning, or thereabouts

II. That his highness the duke of York shall have an honourable convoy to London, where other of his majesty's children are, attended by his officers and servants, and fitting accommodation for the removal of his household and goods thither; and shall have an honourable provision befitting his dignity, appointed for him by the parliament, and to remain there until his majesty's pleasure be known, touching his settling there or elsewhere; and then to be disposed accordingly to any place within fourscore miles of London, and shall have such officers and servants to continue about him as the parliament shall approve.

III. That their highnesses prince Rupert and prince Maurice shall have liberty and passes for themselves, with their servants, horses, arms, and goods, (the number of their horses for them and their train not exceeding seventy,) to repair to any place within fifty miles of London, so it be not within twenty miles of London without leave from the parliament, nor in any garrison, and there to abide for the space of six months after the rendering, free from any molestation by imposition of oaths or otherwise; and shall have passes to go beyond the seas at any time within the said six months, with their said servants, horses, arms, and goods, they engaging themselves upon their honours not to use the liberty hereby granted in the mean time to any hostility against the parliament of England sitting at Westminster, or any way wilfully to the prejudice of their affairs. And they are to have the benefit of such the ensuing articles as may concern them.

IV. That the seals, called the great seal, privy seal, signet, and the seals of the king's bench, exchequer, court of wards, duchy, admiralty, and prerogative, as also the sword of state, shall at such time, and in the presence of two such persons as the general sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint, be locked up in a chest, and left in the public library: and if any of the aforementioned particulars shall not be then accordingly produced, the default thereof shall not be charged upon any other person than such as hath the custody thereof, and shall wilfully detain or embezzle the same.

V. That sir Thomas Glemham, knight, &c., governor of Oxford, with his servants, and all that to him belongs, and all officers and soldiers of horse and foot, and of the train of

artillery, (as well reformed officers and soldiers as others,) with their servants, and all that pertains unto them, shall march out of the city of Oxon with their horses and complete arms that properly belong unto them, proportionable to their present or past commands, flying colours, trumpets sounding, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, bullet in their mouths, and every soldier to have twelve charges of powder, match and bullet proportionable, and with bag and baggage, to any place within fifteen miles of Oxford, which the governor shall choose, where such of the common soldiers as desire to go to their own homes or friends shall lay down their arms, which shall be delivered up to such as the general sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint to receive them. And all officers and soldiers, as well reformed as others, that shall desire to go to their homes or friends shall have the general's pass and protection for their peaceable repair to and abode at the several places they shall desire to go unto, and shall have free quarter allowed them in all their march from Oxon to those several places; the officers, as well reformed as others, to pass with equipage of horses and complete arms, answerable to their present or past commands, and common troopers with their horses and swords only; and all to pass with bag and baggage as aforesaid. And that all other officers and soldiers (in case there be any such) that shall desire to take entertainment from any foreign kingdom or state, shall have free quarter allowed them for twenty-eight days from their march out of Oxon, and shall have passes for their officers, not exceeding ten, with their horses and two servants apiece to go to London to treat with any foreign ambassador or agent for entertainment. And all of them shall have liberty and passes to march (the officers with their complete arms and horses proportionable to their present or past commands, and the common soldiers with their arms, and all with bag and baggage) to the quarters near to Harwich or Portsmouth, or to any port between them, to be transported: which arms (except officers' complete arms and horses, and swords for the common soldiers, which they may transport) they shall there lay down and deliver to such as the general shall appoint, or unto the governor of the next garrison belonging unto the parliament, who shall take care for their safety during their abode there,

and until shipping can be provided, and weather seasonable, they paying for their quarter after the said twenty-eight days expired, and shall assist them for procuring vessels and shipping for their transportation at the usual rates accustomed for freight; the officers and soldiers and others, before transportation, engaging themselves by promise not to return into this kingdom in hostility against the parliament in bodies as they go, or in conjunction with other forces, or in command of any forces invading this kingdom: and no oath or any other engagements of this or the like nature to be, during their said stay, or at their transportation, imposed upon them, saving an engagement by promise not to do any act of hostility or of wilful prejudice against the parliament during their said stay in England. And it is declared, that those of the three auxiliary regiments, consisting of gentlemen and their servants, scholars, citizens, and inhabitants, who are not properly of the garrison in pay, and such reformed officers and soldiers who shall not be willing to march forth, shall not be forced to march out upon this article, but shall have the benefit of the following articles, to remove or remain in Oxford, and in all things else which may concern them; and those also who shall march forth shall have the benefit of the ensuing articles in all things, except for remaining in Oxford.

VI. That the governor shall be allowed and assisted in the procuring a sufficient number of carts, teams, and boats, and other necessities, for the carrying away all goods allowed in these articles, belonging to any officers or persons of quality now residing in the garrison, they paying the accustomed rates: and that such persons as cannot presently, through want of carriages or otherwise, convey them away, shall be assisted with carriages at any time within three months for the disposing thereof.

VII. That no officer or soldier, nor any person whatsoever, comprised in this capitulation, shall be reproached, or have any disgraceful speeches or affronts offered to them, or be stopped, plundered, or injured in their march, rendezvous, or quarters, journeys, or places of abode: and if any such thing shall fall out, satisfaction shall be given at the judgment of any two or more of the commissioners, they being equal in

number of each party; nor shall the persons aforesaid, nor any of them, be enticed or compelled to take up arms against the king; nor be imprisoned, restrained, sued, or molested for any matter or cause whatsoever before the rendering of the garrison, be it of public or private interest, during six months after the rendering thereof. And if any officer, soldier, or person be sick or wounded, that they cannot at present enjoy the benefit of these articles, that such persons shall have liberty to stay until they be recovered, and fit accommodation and subsistence shall be provided for them during their stay, and then to enjoy the benefit of these articles.

VIII. That all horses, arms, money, and other goods whatsoever, taken as lawful prize of war, before or during the siege, and now remaining in the city, be continued in the possession of the present possessors.

IX. That these articles shall extend to the use and benefit of all strangers of any foreign kingdom or state residing within this garrison, together with their wives, children, servants, horses, arms, goods, money, and debts.

X. That all persons included within these articles, without exception of any, (other than the soldiers that are to march out upon the fifth article,) shall have liberty, during the space of three months after the rendering of the garrison, either to remain in Oxford or to remove themselves, with their families, goods, horses, and all things that properly belong to them or to their disposition: and all noblemen, gentlemen, and persons of qualities, with their arms and other equipage, to their houses or friends, without any prejudice to their friends for receiving them.

XI. That all lords, gentlemen, clergymen, officers, soldiers, and all other persons in Oxon, or comprised within this capitulation, who have estates real or personal under or liable to sequestrations according to ordinance of parliament, and shall desire to compound for them, (except persons by name excepted by ordinance of parliament from pardon,) shall at any time within six months after rendering the garrison of Oxford be admitted to compound for their estates; which composition shall not exceed two years' revenue for estates of inheritance; and for estates for lives, years, and other real and personal

estates, shall not exceed the proportion aforesaid for inheritances, according to the value of them. And that all persons aforesaid, whose dwellinghouses are sequestered, (except before excepted,) may, after the rendering of the garrison, repair to them, and there abide, convenient time being allowed to such as are placed there under the sequestrations for their removal: and it is agreed, that all the profits and revenues arising out of their estates (after the day of entering their names as compounders) shall remain in the hands of the tenants or occupiers, to be answered to the compounders, when they have perfected their agreements for their compositions, and that they shall have liberty and the general's pass and protection for their peaceable repair to and abode at their several houses or friends, and to go to London to attend their compositions, or elsewhere upon their necessary occasions, with freedom of their persons from oaths, engagements, and molestations, during the space of six months, and after, so long as they prosecute their compositions, without wilful default or neglect on their part, except an engagement by promise not to bear arms against the parliament, nor wilfully do any act prejudicial to their affairs, so long as they remain in their quarters: and it is further agreed, that from and after their compositions made they shall be forthwith restored to and enjoy their estates, and all other immunities, as other subjects, together with their rents and profits, from the time of entering their names, discharged of sequestration, and from fifth and twentieth parts, and other payments and impositions, except such as shall be general and common to them with others.

XII. That no lords, gentlemen, clergymen, scholars, officers, soldiers, citizens, nor any other persons, included in this capitulation, (except the persons mentioned before to be excepted from pardon,) shall be molested or questioned for any thing said or done in or concerning this war, or relating to the unhappy differences between his majesty and the parliament, they submitting to composition, as in the preceding article; and that the persons before mentioned to be excepted from pardon shall have the benefit of this article during the space of six months from the rendering of the garrison, and after, if they be admitted to and agree for their compositions.

XIII. That the persons mentioned before to be excepted from pardon shall have liberty, and the general's pass and protection for themselves, families, horses, goods, and all things that properly belong unto them now in Oxford, to go unto and abide at their own houses or their friends, for the space of six months after the rendering of the garrison, and within that time to repair unto London, to endeavour composition for their estates, and indemnity of their persons, and to make their peace; and if they cannot obtain it, shall have passes to go beyond the seas at any time within the said six months; and that no other engagement shall be put upon them, save by promise, not to bear arms against the parliament, nor wilfully do any act prejudicial to their affairs, so long as they remain in their quarters.

XIV. That the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university of Oxon, and the governors and students of Christ's Church of king Henry the Eighth his foundation, and all other heads and governors, masters, fellows, and scholars of the colleges, halls, and bodies corporate, and societies of the same university, and the public professors and readers, and the orator thereof, and all other persons belonging to the said university, or to any colleges or halls therein, shall and may, according to their statutes, charters, and customs, enjoy their ancient form of government, subordinate to the immediate authority and power of parliament: and that all the rights, privileges, franchises, lands, tenements, houses, possessions, rents, revenues, hereditaments, libraries, debts, goods and chattels belonging to the said university, or to Christ Church, or to any colleges or halls in the said university, (except such rents and revenues as have been already taken and received by ordinance of parliament,) shall be enjoyed by them respectively as aforesaid, free from sequestrations, fines, taxes, and all other molestations whatsoever, for or under colour of any thing whatsoever relating to this present war, or to the unhappy differences between his majesty and the parliament: and that all churches, chapels, colleges, halls, libraries, schools, and public buildings, within or belonging to the city or university, or to Christ's Church, or the several colleges or halls thereof, shall be preserved from defacing and spoil: and if any removal

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shall be made by the parliament of any head or other members of the university, Christ's Church, colleges, or halls, that those so removed shall enjoy their profits during the space of six months after the rendering of Oxon, and shall have convenient time allowed them for removal of themselves and their goods from their lodgings: provided, that this shall not extend to retard any reformation there intended by the parliament, or give them any liberty to intermeddle in the government.

XV. That the mayor, bailiff, and commonalty, and all corporations within the city, shall enjoy their ancient government and their charters, customs, franchises, liberties, lands, goods, and debts, and all things else whatsoever which belong to them as corporations, subordinate to the immediate authority and power of parliament, and shall not be molested or questioned by colour of any thing before the rendering of this garrison, done, or ordered by them in the capacity of corporations, relating to the differences between his majesty and the parliament.

XVI. That the citizens and inhabitants of the city shall not be charged with free quarter, or billet of soldiers, other than for lodging, (except in urgent time of necessity,) and that to be ordered and disposed by the advice of the mayor or his deputy; and that in all public taxes they shall be charged proportionably with the county: and that no scholar, citizen, or inhabitant in the university and city of Oxford shall be troubled or questioned for taking up arms in the garrison, by express command during the time it was a garrison, for the defence thereof: and that the scholars, citizens, and inhabitants shall have the benefit of this capitulation, in all things that may concern them.

XVII. That no officer, soldier, or other person, who by the articles are to march out of the city or suburbs, or to march in, shall plunder, spoil, or injure any scholar, citizen, or inhabitant, or other person in Oxford, in their persons, goods, or estates, or carry away any thing that is properly belonging to any of them.

XVIII. That all ladies, gentlewomen, and other women now in Oxon, whose husbands or friends are absent from

thence, may have passes and protections for themselves, servants, and goods, to go to and remain at the houses of their husbands or at their friends, as they shall desire, and to go or send to London, or elsewhere, to obtain the allowances out of their husbands' or parents' estates, allotted them by ordinance of parliament.

XIX. That such of his majesty's household servants who shall desire to go to his majesty may have free liberty and passes to go accordingly, at any time within one month next after the rendering of the garrison: and that his majesty's householdstuff, and other his peculiar goods which are now in Oxford, may be carried to his majesty's house at Hampton-court; and his servants, under whose charge or custody any of them are, shall be allowed and assisted in the procuring of carts, boats, and carriages for the removal of them thither, and there to remain till his majesty shall otherwise dispose of them, and then to be sent or disposed accordingly. And that such of his majesty's servants who are not able for the present to go to him shall have liberty, passes, and protections, to go to and remain at his majesty's said house at Hampton-court, and have liberty to attend the committee for his majesty's revenue, to procure a competent allowance out of his majesty's revenues for their subsistence, until his majesty shall otherwise provide for or dispose of them.

XX. That all clergymen now in Oxford, who shall not upon composition or otherwise be restored to their church-livings, shall have liberty to go to London, to obtain some fitting allowance for the livelihood of themselves and their families.

XXI. That it is intended, declared, and agreed, that all persons comprised within these articles shall peaceably and quietly enjoy all their goods, debts, and movables, allowed by these articles, during the space of six months after rendering the garrison: and that they shall be free from all oaths, engagements, and molestations, except an engagement by promise not to bear arms against the parliament, nor wilfully do any act prejudicial to their affairs, so long as they remain in their quarters. And that they shall have liberty within the space of six months (in case they shall be resolved to go beyond seas) to dispose of their goods, debts, and movables al-

lowed by these articles, and depart the kingdom, if they think fit; and to have passes for their transportation, or otherwise to stay in the kingdom.

XXII. That if any of these articles shall in any point be broken or violated by any person or persons in Oxford, or comprised within this capitulation, the fault and punishment shall be upon him or them only who made the breach or violation, and shall not be imputed to or charged upon any other not assenting thereunto, or not an actor in it.

XXIII. That the duke of Richmond, the earl of Lindsey, and their servants that came forth with them, shall enjoy the benefit of these articles in whatsoever may concern them.

XXIV. That the garrisons of Farringdon shall be rendered to his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, and the governor, gentlemen, soldiers, and all other of what quality soever within those garrisons, shall enjoy the benefit of these articles in every particular which may concern them, they rendering the garrison accordingly as Oxford.

XXV. That all persons comprised in these articles shall (upon request) have a certificate under the hand of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, or the future governor of the city, that such persons were in the city at the time of the surrender thereof, and are to have the benefit of these articles.

XXVI. That the general sir Thomas Fairfax shall give a pass to one or two messengers, with their servants, to go unto the king, to give him an account of the proceedings upon this treaty, and conclusion thereof, and to return and receive the benefit of these articles.

On Wednesday the 24th of June, the day appointed, the town was accordingly surrendered. The enemy marched out about twelve of the clock; a guard of our foot was appointed for them to march through, which extended in length from St. Clement's near Maudlin-bridge to Shotover-hill: our horse were drawn up into several bodies in several places in the rear of the foot: there marched out in a body well armed, with colours flying and drums beating, about

3000, who had not the least injury or affront offered them in their march through our men, which the governor sir Thomas Glemham hath since acknowledged, much to the honour of the army: besides that body, there went forth that day, before and after them, about 500, most of them horsemen and private persons engaged in the siege. There likewise marched forth this day at the north gate all those that went to Yorkshire and Gloucestershire and those parts, who had a convoy for that purpose, being a considerable number: those that marched forth when prince Rupert and prince Maurice went forth on Monday, and those that followed them on Tuesday, (when other gentlemen of quality left the city,) were in all about 300 persons, most of them men of quality, and their attendants. After his excellency had possession of the town, it was the continual employment of some to make passes for those that were yet left behind, and not marched out of the town with the body; there were above 2000 passes made after the forementioned forces were gone, as by a particular list of every man's name was reckoned, whereof many were noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of quality, the rest officers and reformadoes, and some scholars. Likewise, after his excellency had the garrison, the three regiments of auxiliaries, consisting of 2000 men, were disbanded, and their arms brought in: those that marched out upon Wednesday, about 900 of them laid down their arms when they came to Thame, and received passes to go to their several houses, and their arms were brought into Oxford; 1100 of them listed themselves for foreign service. There were found in the magazine seventy barrels of powder; besides, they had two mills which supplied them daily with powder. There were in the town thirty-eight pieces of ordnance, whereof twenty-six were brass: for provisions of vic-

tuals, by what was found in the stores, and by what was informed they had in the stores before they sold it to the townsmen, during the treaty, to raise moneys to pay their soldiers, there was not less than six months' provisions. The soldiers were much discontented, and much ado there was to keep them from doing violence to the lords, for no other cause but for being the occasion, as they said, of delivering up the town; a fault which, alas! they could not help; the strength of the works about the town was found to be such, as resolved it in the minds of all understanding men, to be much for the parliament's service that the town was taken by conditions, especially considering what unseasonable weather followed; that if the siege had continued but to the day of surrender, we must have been forced to have quit some of our leaguers, the fields being overflowed with water. The citizens were provided till Christmas with provisions, and did make no question but of corn, beef, bacon, salt, butter, and cheese, there was plenty for the said time: fresh meat for the great ones being the only thing complained of as a want, and yet was found some store of that at the surrender.

Somewhat in vindication of the articles of Oxford:

Such is the delicacy of the spirit of man, that when mercies flow richly and fully in, we grow curious to please, and God must come in to us then as we would have him, or we shall scarce thank him for any thing he gives, like some that return full from feasting, with whom an ordinary dish finds no acceptance: thus it was in the business of this surrender, because the conquest came not up to every point of expectation or humour; therefore it must not be acknowledged by some, as if men would give laws to Providence, and armies must conquer just as we appoint, and we must draw lines for success to move in, and unless God save us by our own

card and compass, we scarce allow such a business a place in our calendar.

The house of commons, in much honour and justice, upon receiving and reading the agreement for Oxford, which his excellency by an express sent up to them, did by vote approve and ratify the same; but others, whether from ignorance or prejudice, or what other cause I say not, seemed not to be so well satisfied therewith, exclaiming against the army, and questioning their honour and integrity in this proceeding.

I would gladly demand of such, how delinquency and offences, so garrisoned and fortified against law, as those in Oxford were, could well have been brought to an higher degree of suffering and expiation, without staking a treble value of men, and of success, and running an hazard of bringing all the glory of so much conquest back again, and with danger of reversing all the success we had; and for my part, I think those victories most glorious that are cleanest from blood, and that war most Christian, that (the common safety, which is the end of war, provided and secured) is as little stained or purpled as may be; and there is more of God and of Israel where cities fall at the breath of trumpets, (as of rams' horns,) and the summons overcome more than the slaughter; and thus hath this army prevailed, by taking in the inhabitants before the cities, and men's hearts before their persons.

And I would demand one thing more of any that have either love or learning, how Oxford, a place of books and colleges, could have been reduced into its gown and peace, but by a motion as calm as peaceable, as little destructive, and as suitable to the ingeny of such a place of arts: but this is the least in the balance with the other considerations.

And because men are rational, and would be rather

argued than persuaded to believe, I shall hold out the whole business in the entireness and transaction of it, that all may be rather convinced and engaged by argument and truth, that things were fair and just, and highly advantageous, than merely desired or entreated to believe so.

His excellency appearing with the army from the west before this city (leaving behind him no remembrance of an enemy, but days of praises for victories) was not without its advantage to the surrender.

The 1st day of May he appeared before Oxford, being that day twelvemonth he marched into the field, which perhaps might be safely observed (without superstition) to be of Providence, as if the same day which was for beginning must be for finishing of the work; a Christian may soberly observe those conjunctures which the superstitious adore.

The headquarter was at Garsington, three miles from Oxford; it was the 6th of May before the quarters about the city and the several posts were appointed, and the leaguer designed in order to a close siege, the soldiers casting up their trenches, (to secure their leaguers,) lines, works, and approaches, with the great work upon Headington-hill.

These things I mention, because they are in some order to the procuring of the treaty; for the appearance of the army in this way of digestion and approach did ripen the enemy to treat; and this close and orderly management of things without, was not without its influence upon those within.

May the 11th, his excellency summoned the garrison, and as the leaves of some trees move easily at a gentle wind, so some in the garrison at the air of this summons were in motion to answer it by a treaty: so as by this the pulse of the enemy were observed at that distance

to beat towards a surrender, which could not but a little engage his excellency to a further pursuit of this means, being so providentially corresponded with in the first design of it.

And now, after the summons for surrender the treaty begins, the commissioners on both sides meeting at master Crook's at Marston; but the Oxford commissioners were so high in some demands, (one of which was to be free from all sequestration,) that his excellency thought it not fit to proceed with them, but acquainted the house of commons therewith, (as still desirous to move as much as might be in the wisdom and sense of that council that first intrusted him,) and making them, by such a pause and refusal, to know themselves a beleaguered enemy: these were advantages not to be forgotten in this work: but before the treaty brake off, a spy was taken with letters to his majesty from sir Edward Nicholas and sir Thomas Glemham; which spy was a captain in the garrison that freely cashiered himself into a fisherman's habit for a time to do that work; the fisherman was caught himself with his letters, after he was got on his way as far as Banbury; which letters opened one mystery of the garrison, which was, divided counsels and designs of the lords and soldiery, and how able they were to defend the place, and how the lords had overpowered them into a treaty, because of his majesty's power committed to them at his departure; so as here were some more advantages gained; a knowledge how much a treaty did divide and unclasp them who else had been at unity for their own preservation, and a discovery of their strength and resolutions, which were so considerable, as it appeared, that a treaty was the best and safest argument to obtain the place, and to disperse the enemy into more faction by offering conditions, who

were at as much distance as could be within the same walls, by this way of proceeding against them, and made enemies to one another, who else had been all as one enemy against us; and now they were already disbanded in counsels, a good preamble to the disbanding of their garrison.

The treaty being thus broke off, upon occasion of the enemy's high demands, and their propositions being wholly laid aside, other propositions were prepared and digested by his excellency and the commissioners on our part, which were not framed without much debate, and taking the affairs of the kingdom according to their then present posture, into prospect and consideration, as they stood in relation to this business.

These propositions were sent into the garrison, and the treaty was reinforced on both sides; yet now his excellency treated as one who rather gave laws than took any reciprocally from them; having sent them such propositions, as by advice with his officers were just and honourable, and as from which he could not vary, (save in point of circumstance or explanation).

In this renewed treaty, there appeared yet much difficulty and averseness on the enemy's part, I mean in their commissioners. Whereupon a council of war was held by his excellency, to consider yet of reducing the garrison by force, if the enemy should fly off in the treaty: this was the fullest counsel since this army marched, consisting of the general, major-general, lieutenant-general of horse, commissary-general, lieutenant-general of the ordnance, the general officers of horse and foot, besides the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors of the army. I observe this, to take off all aspersions of dark and private proceedings by parties and factions, and to strengthen the reputation of such intel-

ligence, such counsels, and grounds, as were received and proceeded on.

At a council of war held at Marston, at the leaguer before Oxford, June 9, 1646, present,

The general,	Judge advocate,
Major-gen. Skippon,	Colonel Bulstrode,
Lieuten.-gen. Cromwell,	Adjutant-gen. Evelyn,
Lieut.-gen. Hammond,	Adjutant-gen. Gray,
Commiss.-gen. Ireton,	Scoutmaster-general,
Colonel Sheffield,	Qu. mast.-gen. Fincher,
Col. sir Hardress Waller,	Qu. mast.-gen. Gravenor,
Colonel Graves,	Lieut.-col. Bowen,
Colonel Lambert,	Lieut.-col. Ewers,
Colonel Ingoldesby,	Lieut.-col. Hewson,
Colonel Herbert,	Lieut.-col. Ashfield,
Colonel Rainsborough,	Th. Herbert, esq., commis-
Colonel Harley,	sioner of parliament,
Colonel Okey,	Major Desborough,
Comptroller of the ordn.	Major Alford,
Colonel Pindar,	Major Horton,

the resolves of the council were, first, that there were 4000 foot and 300 horse, by their best intelligence, in that garrison for defence.

The second was, that they might hold out six months before they wanted provisions of victual and ammunition.

The third was, that it was not advisable to storm Oxford.

The fourth was, that the most probable way was reducing it by approaches, in case they could not close by treaty.

The city now appearing in this reputation of considerableness, we shall look over into particulars of its strength, soldiery, ammunition, and victuals.

For its strength, it was surrounded on all sides but the north with rivers and meadows overflown, so as it

was only approachable on the north side; and this way was only approved on by the council of war; and yet this way there were two lines and works, which in reasons of war would have stood in no little cost and blood; for against every port of the second line were colleges (which however once places of books and peace, yet now served as petty castles of defence); which thing was worthy to be considered, not so much out of tenderness to them, or indulgency to the blood of this army, but out of providence to the kingdom, whose guard it was: as for them, it is well known they were never such husbands of their blood, when the state stood in need of it.

For ammunition and victual, it was well stored, there being ammunition which, well husbanded, might have served them six months, and victual for as long (so as themselves and their artillery would have both lived and determined together).

For the soldiery, there wanted no numbers for that business, 4000, according to the best intelligence, (and as afterwards by passes did appear,) above 3000, beside reformadoes, scholars, townsmen, who, though a miscellany, yet would all have been men of war, and of one profession in a time of defence.

And beside all this, we had the name and reputation of the governor, sir Thomas Glemham, to take in, who hath been known into places that had been otherwise of a dejected fortune to put life and spirit; witness his performance at York, which (after the total routing of the king's army before the walls of that city) being beleaguered by the three generals, with greatest advantage possible, stepping immediately from the victory to the leaguer, he yet defended till he obtained honourable conditions.

And after that despaired of no less at Carlisle, where

he endured ten months' siege, submitting to eat dogs' and horseflesh, before he would yield without honourable conditions.

So as according to this account, consider what expense of time and blood would have issued in carrying on the approaches for the reducement by force; December being a month they might very well have reached unto, which must necessarily have engaged the army into so much winter, water, cold, and difficulty, as that the issue might (in reason of war) have proved as sad for the besiegers, all things considered, as for those in the city; three months' time would have been the least; and when all things had been ripe for enforcing, the hazard of how many honest, gallant men against earth and walls, against lines and colleges.

But surely we flow not so with good men in the kingdom, that we should be so indifferently prodigal of those we have, if victories may be purchased cheaper and at an easier rate, beside the spoil and firing of colleges, and, it may be, of that famous library, which how it would have stood with the reputation of this state, to destroy places of arts so freely, let others judge.

A treaty therefore being judged the best and most counsellable way, his excellency and the commissioners resolved to enforce it, and that not only in respect to the army upon the forementioned considerations of the difficulty, danger, and tediousness of other ways, but also with reference to the state of the kingdom, and divers other considerations. As,

First, in relation to the many other garrisons of the enemy yet unreduced, as Worcester, Wallingford, Ragland, Farringdon, Borstall, with divers others, which did all bear up in the existence and being of this, and were linked to this, as to the head and garrison-royal of all the enemy's, that, like members of one body, they could

not but live and die together, so as this city's surrender would shake all the other into a treaty, and the taking in of this would take in the rest, being all threaded upon one string of dependency.

Secondly, the negotiations of the king in foreign parts for assistance, particularly in France, as is clear by the French agent, who received his majesty first in his quarters, and negotiated with him at Newcastle, and by Ashburnham's despatch into France, (notwithstanding the parliament's demand of him,) all which put together, (though we would rather quench than cherish any suspicion of such a neighbour state,) yet it cannot but be judged well beseeing his excellency and his council, wisely to provide, and put cases of things to come and occur, and prevent (if it may be) dangers possible, being well assured we deal with an enemy who hath lost neither wit, friends, activity, nor resolution, to play his game once more over, if he knew at what card to begin.

Thirdly, the suspicions and jealousies that were kindling towards some in our brethren's army, upon the sudden alarm of his majesty's reception there, and some other passages from the north; not that the army did conclude a doubt or suspicion of them, but rather hasten to be upon such a free and strong interest and disengagement as might sooner put all things into better correspondence, while both armies are fairly at liberty in their own interests and upon equal bottoms, whereby a third designing party (I mean the king's) might not work upon the inequality of the other two, temptation and opportunity being the worst enemies that honest men have.

Fourthly, the treaty in Ireland for a peace with those there, and to make that peace a way of waftage over for some new supplies into England; which though

then was but by dim intelligence discerned, yet now things are clearer and more certain.

Fifthly, the arming the parliament with a free and unengaged army, (as came to pass by the surrender of this city,) so as now they might treat or capitulate, as a kingdom upon its own interest and bottom, with the more honour, and with no more condescension than love and justice would persuade them. Surely they that know the difference betwixt a state attended on by a free and entire army in times of design and distraction and beginnings of settlement, and betwixt a state served by broken regiments and an engaged force or army, cannot judge the freeing and disengaging this army so soon from the attendance of Oxford to a mere attendance upon the state in a time of such high concerns, to be less than a counsel both of necessity and of advancement to the kingdom.

And now I shall fairly remove some objections, which may be moles in the eyes of some, and hinder their discerning the fairness of this proceeding.

First, that of permitting excepted persons to go unpunished: but I cannot grant this objection so far, that they did go unpunished, unless all justice and righteousness run down only in the blood of the offender: indeed the state of Israel fought by such laws against the nations, as in the case of Agag; but how far such laws are rules to the state of Christians, who are not under that judicial policy and special precepts, I leave to be disputed: but surely those six excepted persons went not unpunished, they received loss of all, (one of them an estate worth 100,000*l.*,) and if yet nothing but life be justice, they lost that too; I mean, their life in this kingdom, being never more to live in this state, so as in a manner they are dead to us, though not unto themselves; nor could their life be so easily come at,

without the loss of many, it may be, more dear and precious; and had the approaches and storm gone on, who can undertake those few, those six excepted persons, might not have escaped? And then how had this assay of justice succeeded? Surely justice is not all of one colour, all purple; there is punishment by banishment and confiscation, as well as death; and suppose, after the loss of many an honourable spirit to purchase six men, they had been taken and delivered up, there are ways of escape from states as well as armies.

For that other objection, of the exemption from the oath or covenant for six months; why should it be a crime to his excellency now which was none to the lieutenant-general of the Scots army, who at Carlisle granted that article to be excepted from any oath whatsoever, (as by referring to the said articles may appear,) and our general grants but an exemption for six months; how is it that offences are more fairly interpreted in Scotch than English? and it is not amiss to consider Reading, once a garrison of the enemy's, yet surrendered upon honourable conditions, to the earl of Essex, his excellency, then general; Oxford and Reading differing but in three things: first, Oxford was more considerable, and Reading less; secondly, the delinquents of Reading marched out of the town, and those of Oxford out of the kingdom; thirdly, Reading had but four barrels of powder when they capitulated, Oxford a plentiful magazine.

After all these things, I wonder how any can find fault with this army or soldiery, for despatch of their work so soon; and never till now (and now by what law I know not) was it an offence to have war soon ended. Let me ask, what hath this army done ill in this business? Hath it not done justice upon offenders? It may be not justice of our very fashion, according to

such a very pattern of some, because they could not conquer just by a rule, but as necessity of state and war would suffer them. Hath this army by this surrender failed of that plunder and rich spoil they might have had in the storm? This was a fault wherein the soldiery were more conscionable than covetous: and methinks we should easily pardon them in this, that they had rather end the war to the kingdom's than their own advantage.

Hath this army, by this surrender, been more free, entire, and at liberty, to guard both state and parliament? Methinks this should be only the grief of our enemies, not of our friends.

Hath this army, by this surrender, brought in so many other garrisons as follow in this story, &c.? Surely such ways of fighting as leave the enemy scarce an interest in the kingdom is a new kind of failing, and an offence not heard of till our times, wherein ingratitude and reproaches are by too many thought good pay for greatest services.

Hath this army, by this surrender and disengagement, awed and affrighted the gatherings of new parties to increase the old? This is indeed a mischief; but to whom? Even to every one that is not a lover of the kingdom's safety.

Hath this army, by a spirit more almighty than their own, brought home an olive to this state, after such overflowings of war and blood, and shall not the dove be taken into the ark? Shall there be no preservation for them that preserve others?

CHAPTER VIII.

The siege and surrender of Worcester and Wallingford.

AFTER the surrender of Banbury-castle, colonel Whaley was sent with some few troops of horse to Worcester, for the better keeping in of the enemy; colonel Morgan, who was before such time attending that service with the Gloucestershire forces, was ordered by the general to Ragland, to command in chief those forces that should be employed for the reducing of that place, if upon the summons sent in to Worcester the enemy stood off, and would not treat; which accordingly falling out, the enemy in Worcester returning a very high and peremptory answer upon the summons that was sent in to them, and making higher demands than were granted to Oxford, colonel Morgan, according to his orders, marched to Ragland, leaving colonel Whaley (to attend the service before Worcester), who with the forces of the counties of Worcester and Shropshire, together with some forces of Newport-Pagnel, Warwick, and Northampton, lay before it, so as to keep off relief and hinder the enemy from getting in provisions from the country: but there was a great want of foot for a regular and close siege, which when the service of Oxford was over, and that garrison surrendered, was instantly supplied, colonel Rainsborough being sent with a brigade thither, who no sooner came before the town, but he laid his foot quarters close to the enemy's works, and in two or three nights (according to much judgment and resolution) raised a work which much annoyed the enemy's great fort: whereupon they came to a capitulation, and being much distracted with the surrender of Oxford, and fearing, if they neglected their opportunity, they should have no conditions at all, expecting

the whole power of the army to come upon them, they came to conditions, as followeth:

Articles of agreement for the surrender of the city of Worcester, and the forts belonging thereunto, concluded July 19, 1646, between colonel Thomas Rainsborough, on the behalf of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the forces raised by the parliament, and colonel Henry Washington, governor of Worcester.

I. That the city of Worcester with all forts, ordnance, arms, ammunition, stores, and provision of war thereunto belonging, shall be delivered, without wilful spoil and embezzlement, unto his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, or to such as he shall appoint to receive them, upon the 22nd of this instant July, at ten of the clock in the morning, in such manner and with such exceptions as are contained in the ensuing articles.

II. That on the 23rd of July, the governor and all officers and soldiers of the garrison, with all other persons therein that will, shall march out of Worcester with their horses, arms, and baggage belonging to them, to any place within one mile of Worcester, which the governor shall choose, where all their horses and arms, except what are allowed in the ensuing articles, shall be delivered up to such as his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint. All the soldiers shall be disbanded, and all such, both officers and soldiers, and others, as shall engage themselves by promise never to bear arms any more against the parliament of England, nor do any thing wilfully to the prejudice of their affairs, shall have the benefit of these ensuing articles.

III. That all such as shall desire to go to their own homes or private friends shall have the general's passes and protection for their peaceable repair to and abode at their several places they shall desire to go unto; the governor to pass with all horses, arms, and baggage properly belonging to him; and each colonel to pass with three horses; and each lieutenant-colonel and sergeant-major with two horses; each captain, lieutenant, and cornet with one horse; and every person not under the degree of an esquire with three horses; and all of them with their arms and goods properly belonging to them, to be carried on their horses; and all soldiers with their swords and

such baggage as properly belong to them, which they carry about them.

IV. That all persons which are to have the benefit of the preceding articles shall, if they desire it, have passes to go beyond seas, provided they depart this kingdom within two months after the surrender of the town.

V. That the city and garrison of Worcester, and all the inhabitants thereof, shall be preserved from all plunder and violence of the soldier.

VI. That sir William Russell, now residing in Worcester, be excepted from any benefit of these articles.

Signed and sealed,
July 19, 1646.

HEN. WASHINGTON.

When the forementioned forces were sent unto Worcester, another brigade was sent to Ragland, and the general's regiment, with colonel Lilburn's, were sent to assist our forces before Wallingford; by whose accession the siege being strengthened, presently a summons was sent into the castle. The governor, perceiving new forces to face the garrison, (and that by so fatal an occasion and disaster to them as the surrender of Oxford,) came to a treaty, which took effect, and was concluded upon these articles:

Articles of agreement concluded and agreed by his excellency sir Tho. Fairfax, knight, general of the forces raised by the parliament, on the one party; and col. Tho. Blag, governor of Wallingford, on the other party; for and concerning the rendering of the garrison of Wallingford castle and town, July 22, 1646.

I. That the castle and town of Wallingford, with all the ordnance, arms, ammunitions, stores, and provisions of war thereunto belonging, shall be delivered up without wilful spoil or embezzlement, unto his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, or such as he shall appoint to receive the same, upon Wednesday the 29th of July 1646, by nine of the clock in the morning, in such manner and with such exceptions as are contained in the ensuing articles.

II. That on the said 29th day of July, the governor and all officers and soldiers of the garrison, with all other persons therein, (that will,) shall march out of Wallingford with their horses and arms properly belonging to them, (proportionable to their present and past commands or employments,) with flying colours, trumpets sounding, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, bullet in their mouths, and every soldier twelve charges of powder, match and bullet proportionable, with one piece of ordnance, with equipage, and with bag and baggage, to any place within ten miles of Wallingford, which the governor shall choose, where (in regard his majesty hath no garrison left open, nor army near) all their horses and arms, except what are allowed in the ensuing articles, shall be delivered up to such as his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax shall appoint; all the soldiers shall be disbanded, and all such, both officers, soldiers, and others as shall engage themselves by promise never to bear arms against the parliament, nor to do any thing wilfully to the prejudice of their affairs, during their abode in the parliament's quarters, shall have the benefit of the ensuing articles; that is to say,

III. That all such as shall desire to go to their homes or private friends, (who shall not be prejudiced for receiving them,) shall have the general's pass and protection for their peaceable repair to and abode at the several places they shall so desire to go unto; the governor, officers, and gentlemen to pass with equipage of horses and arms answerable to their present and past commands or qualities; and all, both officers, soldiers, and others, to pass with bag and baggage, and the troopers only with their swords and their bag and baggage.

IV. That all such (if there be any) who shall desire to take entertainment for foreign service, shall have passes for their officers, (not exceeding four,) with their horses and two servants apiece, to go to London to treat with any foreign ambassador or agent for entertainment, and all of them shall have liberty and passes to march (the officers with equipage of horses and arms properly their own, and answerable to their present and past commands, the common soldiers with their swords, and all with bag and baggage) to the quarters near unto Harwich or Southampton, or to any port between them, to be transported, where they shall be assisted in the procuring of vessels

and shipping for their transportation, at the usual rates accustomed for freight, by the governor of the next garrison or port town, who shall also take care for their safety and accommodation with quarters, until shipping be provided and weather seasonable, they paying for the same after twenty-eight days from the render.

V. That all the persons now in Wallingford (not being of the soldiery of the garrison) shall have liberty and protections for their persons and goods to stay in the town of Wallingford one month after the rendering, (if they desire it,) and then to have the general's pass and protection, as others going out at the rendering upon the like engagement; and that any person whatsoever (who being sick or wounded, cannot at present remove) shall have liberty to stay till they be recovered or able to go away, and shall have fit accommodation and subsistence provided for them during such their stay, and then shall enjoy the benefit of these articles.

VI. That no person whatsoever comprised in this capitulation shall be reproached, reviled, affronted, plundered, or injured in their march, rendezvous, or quarters, journeys, or places of abode, by these articles allowed, nor shall be compelled to bear arms, nor be imprisoned, restrained, sued, molested, or damnified, for any matter whatsoever, of public or private concernment, relating to the present war, the matter or grounds thereof, arising before the rendering of the garrison, during the space of six months after the rendering thereof, nor be compelled to take any oaths or other engagements than what is mentioned in the second article, during the time of six months, and to have liberty during the said time to travel about their lawful affairs.

VII. That all horses and other goods now in Wallingford, taken as lawful prize of war, or properly belonging to the governor or officers of the garrison, before or during the siege, shall be continued in the possession of the present possessors, except such as are to be delivered up by the tenor of these articles.

VIII. That such householdstuff and goods now in Wallingford as shall appear to the general, or such as he shall depute for that purpose, to have been borrowed by any officer or gentleman in the garrison, for their use and accom-

modation in the garrison, shall be restored back to the owners.

IX. That if any person or persons shall wilfully violate these articles in any part, the guilt thereof shall be imputed to such person or persons only, and shall not prejudice any other not acting or consenting to the same.

X. That the governor and three more such officers and gentlemen as he shall name shall have passes from the general for themselves, with two servants apiece, their horses, swords, pistols, and necessities, to go to the king to give him an account of the said garrison, and to return to their homes or friends; and that five weeks shall be allowed for this journey, which shall not be reckoned any part of the six months mentioned in the sixth article, but he and they shall be allowed six months after the end of the said five weeks.

XI. That no officer, soldier, or other person, who by the articles are to march out of the castle or town of Wallingford, (or shall march in,) shall plunder, spoil, or injure any inhabitant or other person therein, in their persons, goods, or estates, or carry away any thing that is properly belonging to any of them.

XII. That all persons comprised within these articles shall peaceably and quietly enjoy all their goods, debts, and movables, during the space of six months after the rendering, and shall have liberty within the said space (if they shall resolve to go beyond the seas) to dispose of their said goods, debts, and movables, and to depart the kingdom with the same, as they shall think fit and desire, and shall have passes for their transportation accordingly from his excellency.

XIII. That all persons comprised in these articles shall, upon request, have a certificate under the hand of the general, or such as he shall appoint, that such persons were in the castle and town of Wallingford at the time of the rendering thereof, and are to have the benefit of these articles.

XIV. That the townsmen and inhabitants of the town of Wallingford shall not be troubled or questioned for any thing said or written by any of them, nor the corporation thereof prejudiced for any thing done by any of them by express command, since it was a garrison, and that they shall have the benefit of these articles in all things that may concern them.

XV. That master John Chamberlain of Sherborne shall have the benefit of these articles.

THO. FAIRFAX.

After the articles were signed and sealed, and the day of surrender agreed upon, a party of officers and soldiers, upon some discontent, mutinied against the governor, and dividing themselves from the rest, came in a threatening way, presenting their muskets at him, if they might not have their wills and demands granted: whereupon the governor was necessitated privately to send for the passes, and to deliver the castle a day sooner than intended, and lieutenant-colonel Jackson was enforced to draw in his regiment into the town between the two parties, (the mutineers, and the governor's party,) to enforce an orderly delivery of the garrison: the tuition of this garrison was by his excellency committed to that vigilant and faithful commander adjutant Evelyn, adjutant-general of the horse.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the reduction of Ragland-castle and Pendennis.

OXFORD garrison having run to its period of obstinacy against the parliament, and being now reduced, many other garrisons that attended its fate fell with it, even like ripe fruit, with an easy touch; but these two garrisons of Ragland and Pendennis, like winter fruit, hung long on. Ragland-castle, a stronghold in Wales, garrisoned for the king under the command of the marquis of Worcester, situated conveniently to command all the parts of South-Wales, being straitened by some forces of sir Trevor Williams and major-general Langhorne,

before colonel Morgan was ordered from Worcester thither, to command in chief the forces that were and should be sent before it, was at length formidably and closely besieged: the same captain-engineer that gave so good demonstration of his skill at Banbury, at the reduction of that castle, captain Hooper, was employed here; and so soon as he could get spades and shovels, he went most dexterously to work against this castle of Ragland: colonel Morgan at first had but 1500 men to carry on the design: the enemy was 800 strong within, in horse and foot, and made divers desperate sallies upon colonel Morgan, who received him as gallantly, and in every of them was personally engaged, with great hazard to himself in particular: in one sally, the enemy took a colour of ours, the cornet lost his life withal; in exchange whereof, a major and captain of the enemy's was slain, and divers wounded on the enemy's part: but at length, by the addition of 2000 more to colonel Morgan from his excellency's army, after Oxford was over, as is noted before, the enemy in the castle was reduced to more caution, and taught to lie closer.

And especially when his excellency in person was come thither from the Bath to put life into the siege, which was by that time in a good forwardness both for their works and approaches; who being come, sent in this summons into the castle:

MY LORD,

Being come into these parts with such a strength as I may not doubt, but with the same good hand of Providence that hath hitherto blessed us, in short time to reduce the garrison of Ragland to the obedience of the parliament, I have in order thereto thought good to send your lordship this summons, hereby requiring you to deliver up to me, for the parliament's use, the said garrison and castle of Ragland, which as

it only obstructs the kingdom's universal peace, the rendition may beget such terms as, by delay or vain hopes, cannot hereafter be expected. I remain,

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

Leaguer before Ragland,
Aug. 7, 1646.

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

Which summons begat an intercourse of many messages from one side to the other; with the copies whereof I shall continue that part of the story.

SIR,

Although my infirmities might justly claim privilege in so sudden an answer, yet, because you desire it, and I not willing to delay your time, to your letter of summons to deliver up my house, and the only house now in my possession to cover my head in; these are to let you know, that if you did understand the condition I am in, I dare say, out of your judgment you will not think it a reasonable demand: I am loath to be the author of mine own ruin on both sides, and therefore desire to have leave to send to his majesty to know his pleasure, what he will have done with his garrison. As for my house, I presume he will command nothing, neither am I knowing, how, either by law or conscience, I should be forced out of it. To this I desire your return, and rest

Your excellency's humble servant,

H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

Touching your sending to his majesty, it is that which hath been denied to the most considerable garrisons of England, further than an account to his majesty of the thing done upon the surrender, which I do also freely grant to your lordship: and for that distinction which your lordship is pleased to make, it is your house, if it had not been formed into a garrison I should not have troubled your lordship with a summons, and were it disgarrisoned, neither you nor your house should receive any disquiet from me or any that belong unto me.

This I thought good to return to yours, and thereby to dis-

charge myself before God and the world of all extremities and sad consequences that will ensue upon the refusal of the rendition of your garrison upon my summons.

I remain yours,

THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

I do so much confide in your honour, as that being at stake, concerning leave to send to his majesty, I will at this time forbear to make further motion in it: only one thing, which is extraordinary, I offer to your consideration for the just cause, besides my allegiance, of my reasonable request; which is, that upon his majesty's promise of satisfaction I am above 20,000*l.* out of purse; and if I should do any thing displeasing unto him, I am sure all that is lost, and no benefit to the parliament. If you knew how well known I was in Henry earl of Huntington's time unto your noble grandfather at York, I am assured I should receive that favour at your hands that safely you might afford. God knows, if I might quietly receive my means of subsistence, and be in security, with the parliament's approbation, and freed from the malice of those gentlemen that are of the committee within this county, I should quickly quit myself of the garrison, for I have no great cause to take delight in it. I have that high esteem of your worth, nobleness, and true judgment, that, knowing you will offer nothing ignoble or unworthy for me to do, as the case stands with me, I desire to know what conditions I may have, and I will return you present answer, and in the meantime I rest

Your humble servant,

H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

According to your lordship's desire, I have returned you conditions, such as may be fit and satisfactory to the soldiery. To your lordship and family, I have granted quiet and security from all violence of any that belongs to me: I would persuade your lordship not to fear any ill or disrespect from the committee of this county, (I shall easily reconcile that party,) or that they will do any thing but as they shall receive order from the parliament. By this means you are at liberty to send to the parliament, and upon a present surrender and

submission to their mercy and favour, your lordship cannot but think to receive better terms for yourself, than if you stand it out to the last extremity; when, besides the hazard of your person, and of those in your family, (which I do presume are dear to you,) and the spoil of the castle, which cannot be avoided in extreme undertakes against it, your lordship hath no reason to expect better than the marquis of Winchester received; who, in making good Basing-house to the last, narrowly escaped in his own person, lost his friends, subjected those that escaped to great frights and hazard, his house and estate to utter ruin, and himself to extremity of justice. Touching your lordship's 20,000*l.*, your lordship hath liberty to solicit about that by the same hands your lordship shall give an account of the surrender to his majesty. I desire your lordship, upon receipt of these, to dismiss my trumpeter, and to return answer by one of your own.

THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

The difficulty of resolution by the soldiers and officers, (other than I thought,) causeth my request for your patience in not giving you full answer to the conditions you sent me yesterday; but as soon as I shall obtain it, you shall not be long without it. But one thing, and that of moment, I desire to be satisfied in; whether, if any conclusion should be made, that afterward I shall be left to the mercy of the parliament for alteration at their will and pleasures; and if it be so, I shall endeavour in vain to study more about it: for example, in my lord of Shrewsbury's case, and divers others, how conditions have been broken doth a little affright me: I know, by your will and consent, it should never be; but soldiers are unruly, and the parliament unquestionable, and therefore I beseech you pardon my just cause of fear, and I will rest

Your humble servant,

H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

I have perused your letter of this 11th of August. As to your scruple, wherein you desire to be satisfied, (so far as I understand it,) I can only give you this resolution, that what I grant I will undertake shall be made good: as to the instance

you give in my lord of Shrewsbury's case, the actors in that breach (who were none of my army) have received their censure, and, by this time, I believe, the execution. But here, if any conclusion be made while I stay, I dare undertake there shall be no such thing, or, if any, there shall be reparation.

THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

For the better accommodation of these unhappy differences, if you please that there may be a cessation of arms and working, and to engage your honour for the return of my commissioners to-morrow by ten of the clock, they shall wait upon you in your leaguer, where they shall vindicate me for being the only obstruction of the general peace: so, in expectation of your sudden answer, I rest

Your humble servant,

H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

Having not yet received in any of your letters a direct answer to the conditions I sent you, I have no grounds or consideration for such a cessation of arms and working as in your letter you desire; but if it be your purpose to return your answer by commissioners, I shall by the hour you mention appoint commissioners of mine own to receive the same in the leaguer, as you desire, and engage myself for the safe return of yours, not exceeding six commissioners, and as many servants: and, in order to this, I shall be content there be a cessation of arms and working from nine of the clock to-morrow morning till two in the afternoon.

Yours, &c.

THO. FAIRFAX.

SIR,

Had I not thought you had been in the leaguer, to the end that propositions from the place in answer to yours might have been first presented unto you, and to avoid delays, which I thought your side would best like of, it was resolved to send commissioners together with our propositions; but considering it was otherwise, I have sent you such as I am advised unto, to take into your consideration; and because there is some

addition to yours, I would have been glad you had heard the just reasons thereof, to the end you might not have been persuaded to slight them without just cause: your pleasure for the ordering of business I at your leisure expect, and, if you please, the dismissal of this messenger; and so rest

Your humble servant,
H. WORCESTER.

MY LORD,

I have perused the propositions sent out by your commissioners, which I find such as deserve no answer: I have offered your lordship and the rest conditions, which you may yet have, if you accept in time: if there be any thing in them obscure, needing explanation, or wanting circumstantials, for the better performing of the things intended therein, I shall be willing to appoint commissioners on my part to treat with yours to that purpose upon those propositions of mine, provided you send commissioners instructed with power to treat and conclude, and return your resolution herein by six of the clock this evening.

Yours, &c.
THO. FAIRFAX.

August 14, 1646.

In the mean time our approaches went on towards the castle, our main work was some sixty yards from theirs, we had planted four mortar-pieces in one place and two mortar-pieces at another, each mortar-piece carrying a granado shell twelve inches diameter.

August the 14th, his excellency (who was every day in the trenches) appointed a new approach, which the engineer, captain Hooper, had so far proceeded in as to throw up approaches of 100 yards in circuit, making, exacting running trenches, so secure, as if they were works against a storm, coming within sixty yards of their works.

August the 15th, the marquis sent forth his desire to treat upon the general's propositions; whereupon the treaty was appointed at master Oates's house, (about a mile and a half from Ragland,) to begin at two of the

clock that afternoon: his excellency's commissioners were colonel Morgan, colonel Birch, master Herbert, one of the commissioners of parliament, residing in the army, quartermaster-general Gravesnor, lieut.-colonel Ashfield, and major Tulida.

By Monday, August the 17th, the treaty was concluded (the marquis casting himself upon the mercy of the parliament) according to the ensuing articles:

Articles concluded and agreed upon betwixt his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, knight, general of the forces raised by the parliament, on the one part; and the right honourable the marquis and earl of Worcester, governor of the castle and garrison of Ragland, on the other part; for and concerning the surrender of the castle and garrison of Ragland.

I. That the castle and garrison of Ragland, with all the ordnance, arms, ammunition, and provision of war thereunto belonging, shall be delivered up, without wilful spoil, unto his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, or such as he shall appoint to receive the same, on Wednesday next, being the 19th day of this instant August, by ten a clock in the forenoon, in such form as shall be expressed in the ensuing articles.

II. That upon the said 19th day of August, the officers, gentlemen, and soldiers of the garrison, with all other persons therein, shall march out of the said garrison with their horses and arms, with colours flying, drums beating, trumpet sounding, matches lighted at both ends, bullet in their mouths, and every soldier with twelve charges of powder, match and bullet proportionable, and bag and baggage, to any place within ten miles of the garrison, where the governor shall nominate: where, in respect his majesty hath no garrison in England, nor army any where within this kingdom and dominion of Wales, their arms shall be delivered up to such as his excellency shall appoint to receive them, where the soldiers shall be disbanded; and that all, both officers, gentlemen, and soldiers, shall have the benefit of these ensuing articles, except persons excepted from pardon and composition, they engaging themselves not to bear arms hereafter against the parliament,

nor do any thing during their abode in the parliament's quarters prejudicial to their affairs.

III. That all such as desire to go to their own homes, or to their private friends, shall have the general's pass and protection for their peaceable repair to and abode at the several places they shall desire to go unto, the officers and gentlemen to pass with their horses and arms; also such officers or gentlemen, reformed or not reformed, that want horses, shall march with their arms; and all officers, gentlemen, soldiers, and others, shall pass with bag and baggage.

IV. That all officers, gentlemen, and others, comprised within this present capitulation, shall have three months' time allowed them, to remain in any place within the parliament's quarters, for the endeavouring their peace and composition, and all gentlemen that desire to go beyond the seas shall have their passes for themselves and their servants, and all other necessaries, to any seaport, to ship themselves, they paying the usual rate, provided they go within three months after the said surrender; and that all gentlemen, officers, and others, as shall desire to take foreign entertainment shall without exception have passes for themselves and servants to go to London or elsewhere, to treat with any ambassador or other to that purpose, with their bag and baggage, to march to any seaport, to be transported whither they please, they likewise paying the usual rates accustomed.

V. That such as are wounded or sick shall either have liberty to stay in the castle, or be removed to such other places as the governor shall choose for their recovery.

VI. That no officers, gentlemen, or soldiers, during these three months, shall be questioned for any word spoken or acts done, relating to this war, since the commencement of it; that no person comprised within these articles be reproached, affronted, plundered, or injured in their march, quarters, or places of abode, or any person that shall receive them shall be molested, or suffer any prejudice therefore, but shall have liberty during the limited time to pass about their lawful occasions provided they act nothing to the prejudice of the parliament; and in case any of these articles be broken by any particular person, that the punishment extend no further

than the party so offending, and that all these articles may be faithfully observed, according to the true intent thereof, without any cavil or mental reservation to infringe them or any of them.

On Wednesday, August the 19th, the castle was surrendered (according to agreement) to his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, for the use of the parliament. The enemy was no sooner marched forth, but his excellency entered the castle, took a view of it, had some conference with the marquis, and afterwards went that night to Chepstow, where he was nobly entertained by the committee there; from whence, on Thursday the 20th, he returned to his quarters at Bath.

This castle of Ragland was a very strong piece, having a deep moat encompassing it, besides the river running by it. There were delivered up with it twenty pieces of ordnance, only three barrels of powder, but they had a mill, with which they could make a barrel a day: there was found great store of corn and malt, wine of all sorts, and beer: the horses they had left were not many, and those that were, almost starved for want of hay, of which they had none left, and not many oats, so that the horses had like to have eaten one another for want of meat, and therefore were tied with chains: there was also great store of goods and rich furniture found in the castle, which his excellency committed to the care and custody of master Herbert, commissioner of the army, Mr. Roger Williams and major Tuliday, to be inventoried; and in case any of the well affected of the country could make a just claim to any of them, as being violently taken from them, or they compelled to bring them in thither, they should have them restored.

There marched out of the castle the marquis of Worcester, the lord Charley the marquis's son, the
SPRIGG.

countess of Glamorgan, the lady Jones, sir Phillip Jones, doctor Bayley, commissary Guillian, four colonels, eighty-two captains, sixteen lieutenants, six cornets, four ensigns, four quartermasters, fifty-two esquires and gentlemen. Not any that marched forth had the least incivility offered them by our soldiers, but the articles punctually observed to them.

After the reduction of Ragland, his excellency's forces being at liberty, and there being three or four garrisons in North Wales yet unreduced, before which major-general Mitton was with some forces, his excellency sent to major general Mitton, offering him, for the more expeditious reduction of those places, to send him either foot, horse, or artillery.

But his excellency understanding from him that he had more forces from the country than he could well maintain, his excellency commanded the forces intended that way to march to quarters near Oxford, leaving the work of reducing those garrisons wholly to major-general Mitton, who had given so great testimony both of his ability and faithfulness in former actions. And now to Pendennis.

Pendennis-castle, a strong hold in the utmost parts of Cornwall, standing upon the sea, commanding in a great part the harbour of Falmouth, where ships that trade to the east frequently put in, garrisoned for the king under the command of John Arundel of Trease, esquire, was blocked up by part of his excellency's army, under the command of colonel Fortescue by land, and by captain Batten (vice-admiral of the parliament's ships) by sea: about the latter end of July the enemy made a sally by boats to fetch in relief, but were forced back with loss.

About ten days before which a summons was sent them, but they, in hope of relief by ships from St.

Malo, returned a denial; and after those ships were by contrary winds beaten to Morleys, yet the enemy persisted in his obstinacy, expecting a propitious blast to bring their relief to them; nor could the fate of Oxford, Worcester, and Litchfield, surrendered, coming to their ears, work them to any other resolution than to hold out, without his majesty's special warrant to surrender, whom the governor was very earnest to obtain liberty to send unto; or if not to the king, at least to the prince, and would fain have persuaded colonel Fortescue to condescend thereto, as but a common courtesy, but could not prevail, he not understanding it so. By a lieutenant of ours, whom colonel Fortescue exchanged another of theirs for, he understood that a shallop had gone forth about the 26th of July to the prince his highness, to certify him of their condition, unable to hold out many days without relief.

Captain Batten kept ten large boats and barges, well manned, before the mouth of the harbour every night, within command of the castle, drawing them off in the morning. One morning, when he was newly drawn off, a shallop got in by stealth, which caused great triumph in the castle; but it was conceived (and colonel Fortescue was so informed by good hands) that little relief was in it, save a hogshead or two of wine.

Some overtures were made to the enemy within to go for Flanders, an agent from the king of Spain came for that purpose, desiring to speak with some of the soldiers in the castle, while some of ours should be by; which being granted, he made an overture to some papist officers of entertainment in the king of Spain's service in Flanders; they desired to be satisfied of the agent's authority, and to see the conditions; which being readily condescended unto and performed on the agent's part, they answered him, that at present they

were engaged, but should they be once free, next to their present master they would serve his majesty of Spain. This courtesy was taken well from colonel Fortescue by the enemy and the agent; and certainly any thing belonging merely to civility, without involving danger in its consequence, was never denied by him.

The enemy in the castle kept fires all night, for direction to any relief that should make towards them. They were very prodigal of their powder, making 200 great shot in the space of three days at our men, but without any great execution, only three of our men being slain thereby: the work of keeping them in so straitly from relief was very great, and was not performed without very hard duty to our soldiers, the enemy within being so numerous, which therefore redounds as much to the honour of the besiegers: and captain Batten with his ships by sea was no less careful and vigilant, though indeed he wanted shallops and pinnaces for the service.

Some days after the forementioned shallop, there came in another to the castle, but it was conceived not much more relief in that than in the former, and that because the governor sent about the same time a letter to colonel Fortescue, to know if he had power to treat with him, and whether he could make good the conditions he should grant; alleging, that otherwise it would be a dishonour to him to treat, and the agreement to be contradicted by any other. Colonel Fortescue returned answer, he had power to treat, and to make good the agreement. Whereupon the governor took two days' time to consider, and in issue embraced a treaty. Commissioners were named on both parts.

The time appointed for the treaty to begin was Monday August the 10th, when accordingly the com-

missioners on both sides met, the enemy making his demands, ours offering their propositions, which held them till Wednesday noon, when their commissioners brake off, and went away in great discontent at the terms that were offered them; but on Friday the 14th the winds were laid, and the treaty (by colonel Fortescue's art) came on again, and by Saturday night the 15th all was concluded, save the time of surrender, which was agreed the next day, and the articles signed, which were as followeth:

Articles agreed on the 16th of August, anno Dom. 1646, between sir Abraham Shipman, lieutenant-colonel Richard Arundel, colonel William Slaughter, colonel Charles Jennings, colonel Lewis Tremaine, Nevil Bligh, and Joseph June, esquire, lieutenant-colonel Anthony Bocket, on the behalf of the honourable John Arundel of Treacise, esquire, governor of the castle of Pendennis, of the one party; and colonel John St. Aubin, esquire, high sheriff of the county of Cornwall, sir John Ayscue, knight, colonel Robert Bennet, lieutenant-colonel Edward Herle, lieutenant-colonel Thomas Fitch, lieutenant-colonel Richard Townsend, major Thomas Jennings, and capt. Walter Mainard, on the behalf of the honourable colonel Richard Fortescue, commander-in-chief, under his excellency, sir Thomas Fairfax, of all the forces of horse and foot within the county of Cornwall; and the honourable captain William Batten, vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of the whole fleet employed for the service of king and parliament, on the other party.

That the castle of Pendennis, with all fortresses, forts, fortifications thereunto belonging, the ships and all other vessels lying under the castle, with the furniture and provisions unto them appertaining. All ordnance of all sorts, with their equipage, and all arms, ammunition, provisions, and all other implements of war, necessities, and commodities of and belonging to the said castle and garrison, (except what otherwise shall be disposed by these articles,) shall, without any manner of diminution, spoil, or embezzlement, be delivered upon Mon-

day, the 17th day of this instant August, at two of the clock in the afternoon, into the hands and custody of the two commanders-in-chief, by sea and land respectively, or such person or persons as shall be by them appointed for the receiving of the same. And that immediately upon signing the said articles, the said persons shall be admitted into the castle to see the just performance of the premises, and hostages given for the due observance of them.

II. That John Arundel of Trecise, esquire, governor of the said castle of Pendennis, with his family and retinue, and all officers and soldiers, of horse and foot, and all the train of artillery, and of the ships, as well reformadoed officers as others, and all gentlemen, clergymen, and their families and servants, shall march out of the castle of Pendennis, with their horses, complete arms, and other equipages according to their present or past commands and qualities, with flying colours, trumpets sounding, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, bullets in their mouths, and every soldier twelve charges of powder, with bullets and match proportionable, with all their own proper goods, bag and baggage, with a safe convoy unto Arwinch Downs. And, because his majesty hath neither army nor garrison in England to our knowledge, they shall there lay down arms, (saving their swords,) unless such who are officers in commission, who with their servants are to retain their arms according to their qualities. Country gentlemen and their servants, their swords only; ensigns their colours; where such persons as colonel Fortescue shall appoint are to receive them. And as many as desire it are to have let-passes from the commanders-in-chief to pass to their several dwellings, or to such other places under the power of the parliament, or beyond the seas, as they shall desire, and not be plundered, searched, or injured in their march, or after, they not doing any thing to the prejudice of the parliament's affairs; and no man to be prejudiced for giving any of the persons comprised in the said articles entertainment in their houses: and that the old garrison soldiers who have houses in the castle shall have twenty-eight days, after the surrender, for the removing and disposing of their goods.

III. That the prince's servants with their arms, and all commanders, officers, gentlemen, ladies, gentlewomen, clergy-

men, and all others, with their retinue, that desire it, shall have liberty to pass with their bag and baggage, and what else is allowed in the articles, beyond the seas; and to that purpose there shall be provided by the vice-admiral a sufficient number of navigable vessels, with a safe convoy for their safe transporting, from the haven of Falmouth, within twenty-eight days after the surrender of the said castle, to be landed at St. Maloes in France: and in the mean time to be signed free quarters at convenient places by colonel Fortescue, commander-in-chief; and during the said time, that they be not plundered or injured, they acting nothing prejudicial to the parliament affairs.

IV. That colonel Wise, and all officers and soldiers of his regiment, or as many of them as desire it, may be shipped in Falmouth harbour in vessels to be provided by the vice-admiral, and landed at Swansea in Wales: and that such are of the county of Cornwall to be shipped and landed at Looe, and those that be of Devon, to be landed at Yalme; and all to be shipped with bag and baggage, and such arms as formerly allowed them, nor to be plundered nor injured in their passage.

V. That whereas, by reason of the long siege of the castle of Pendennis, many of the officers and soldiers of the said garrison are grown into great necessity of all such things as might enable them to march to their several dwellings, many sick and wounded, and to the intent they may be supplied with necessaries for their accommodations within the time limited to them by these articles; it is promised and consented unto by the commissioners for the leaguer, to and with the commissioners for the castle, that 500*l.* sterling shall be delivered into the hands of the commissioners of the castle, or any three of them, at eight of the clock to morrow morning at Penrin, to be distributed among the officers and soldiers aforesaid, as they shall think fit. And they are not to take any free quarter in their marches.

VI. That all goods taken from any person for the accommodation of this garrison or any person therein shall be restored to their proper owners, or such as they shall appoint; and all goods now in the castle that properly belong to any other persons shall be restored to the owners thereof. And

if any person carry away any goods not properly belonging unto him, and deny to deliver them upon demand in presence of any officer in commission, he shall lose his bag and baggage, and have such punishment as the now governor of the castle and the commanders-in-chief, or any two of them, shall think fit. But all persons may retain whatsoever was taken from persons in arms, as lawful prize of war.

VII. That the governor and all field-officers, with their several retinues, shall be allowed carriage by sea or land to carry away their said goods to any place within their county.

VIII. That no officer, soldier, or other person, comprised in these articles, shall be reproached, or have any disgraceful words or affronts offered, or be stopped, searched, plundered, or injured in their marches, rendezvous, quarters, journeys, places of abode, or passages by sea or land; and if any such thing be done, satisfaction to be made according to the judgment of any two commissioners or more, being of equal number of each party; nor shall any of the persons aforesaid be compelled to take up arms against the king, nor be imprisoned for any cause of public or private concernment during the space of twenty-eight days after the surrender of the said castle, nor for any cause of public concernment, for twenty-eight days after the said twenty-eight days are ended.

IX. That if any person within the garrison be sick or wounded, that they cannot take the benefit of the articles at present, they shall have liberty to stay, and be provided for at convenient places until they recover; and then they shall have the fruit and benefit of these articles.

X. That all persons comprised in this capitulation shall enjoy their estates real and personal, they submitting to all orders and ordinances of parliament, and shall fully enjoy the benefit of these articles.

XI. That all prisoners of war, of either side, be set at liberty, and that liberty be given, immediately after the surrender of the said castle, to the governor thereof, to give notice to their friends of the surrender of the said castle. And that no vessel coming with relief within ten days after the surrender shall be made prize.

XII. That if any of these articles shall in any point be broke or violated by any person or persons in Pendennis, or

comprised within this capitulation, the fault and punishment shall be upon them or him only who made the breach or violation, and shall not be imputed or charged on any other not assenting thereunto or acting therein.

XIII. That all persons comprised in these articles shall upon request have certificate under the hands of the commander-in-chief respectively, that such persons were in the castle at the time of the surrender thereof, and were otherwise to have the benefit of these articles.

XIV. That the commanders-in-chief respectively shall give passes to one or two messengers with their servants, not exceeding six, to go to the king by sea or land from the governor, to give an account to him of the proceedings of this treaty, and conclusion thereof, and to return and receive the benefit of these articles.

XV. That commissioners be appointed on both sides for the performance of the articles, and places appointed for the accommodation of sick men.

XVI. That confirmation of all the precedent articles shall be procured from the parliament, or from his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, within forty days after the signing of these articles.

Near to Pendennis is the Mount in Cornwall, (omitted to be mentioned in its just order,) which was surrendered to colonel Hammond, who lay before it with some of the foot of this army, and obtained the surrender of it some few days after the surrender of Excester. The governor of the Mount was sir Arthur Basset: the marquis of Hamilton was in it: fifteen pieces of ordnance, with great store of ammunition and provisions, were gained with it.

It is a place of great strength, the tide flowing about it twice a day, which rendered the reduction of it a service of great difficulty and consequence, and redounding much to the honour of colonel Hammond, who underwent the same, whose merits also in that singular service of settling quarters on the west side of Excester

at Saint Thomas' hospital, &c., within half musket shot of the enemy, afterwards marching to Torrington with his regiment, deserves a special note to be put upon it.

Besides this of the Mount, there is one service more, omitted to be mentioned in its proper place, viz. the reduction of Borstall-house, which was some few days before the surrender of Oxford agreed to be surrendered upon conditions.

And thus you have a true (though plain and brief) account of the actions of this army, which God reserved for such a time as our lowest estate, when his season was to deliver us. It was once intended the story should have broken off at Oxford, but you see it is continued to the last piece of service performed by this army, though somewhat more briefly than the former actions; which was for want of those materials of observations and collections which were furnished me in the compiling of the story till then, by one to whom all that reap any satisfaction by this story owe great thanks for his diligence and faithfulness therein.

And now, there being no enemy either in field or garrison, his excellency, after some small time of refreshment and rest from his continual weariness and action, was by the parliament ordered from Oxford into the West, there to disband major-general Massey's brigade; whither accordingly he immediately marched, viz. to the Devizes, where in the space of eight days his excellency disbanded the whole brigade, consisting of 2,500 horse; whom (to give them their due) he found for the most part prepared to obey the ordinance of parliament; which was the more commendable, in respect that of many months' arrears which were behind, they received but six weeks' pay, which yet is not wholly to be reckoned to the ingenuity of the men, but in a great part to the carefulness and prudence of

major-general Massey, colonel Cook, and the rest of the officers. Divers of the disbanded come from very remote countries, and had passes, some for Egypt, others for Mesopotamia and Æthiopia.

This work was no sooner over, but it pleased God to visit the general with a sore fit of the stone: Saint Paul needed a thorn in the flesh; and by thirst and lack of water Samson (after his great exploits) might know himself to be a man. This fit continued on him for many days together. So soon as he was recovered, he made a journey to London. This was the first time of his visiting London since he marched forth with the army, having a small desire to see that place till he could bring an olive branch in his mouth, choosing rather to hasten peace than spin out the war, which made a humble tent more acceptable to him till he had attained his end than a glorious city.

His excellency coming to London November the 12th, while he was yet some miles off the city, he was met by the militia of the city. He who had so often encountered a militia of enemies, is now embraced by a militia of friends, who had no other errand but to thank him, who had done so much, as that he had left nothing for them to do, but to fetch in this man of war, who had converted them to men of peace, who through his watchfulness and valour had excused them from stirring out of their city to fight a battle; only now in the interest of their own honour, they were drawn out to bring in the prize of so many battles, even England's peace.

Many well affected citizens also went forth with the militia upon this expedition, and the hearts of thousands ran and met him, whose persons were not seen there.

No sooner was he come to town, but (the next day)

both houses of parliament were in motion to acknowledge their general, and make a congratulatory visit to him, communicating their sense the one house to the other therein, and making these respective orders thereupon :

Die Veneris, Novemb. 13, 1646.

Ordered by the lords assembled in parliament, that it is left to the speaker of this house, what to speak to sir Thomas Fairfax from this house, upon these several heads, viz. to congratulate his coming to this town, and to acknowledge his good service done to the parliament and kingdom.

JOHN BROWN.

Die Veneris, 13 Novemb. 1646.

Ordered by the commons assembled in parliament, that master speaker and the whole house do to morrow, at ten of the clock, give a visit to sir Thomas Fairfax, general of the parliament's forces, and return him the thanks of the commons of England, and an acknowledgment of the great blessings of Almighty God upon his faithful services, wise conduct, and great valour in the whole discharge of the great trust committed unto him, and reducing the distracted affairs of this kingdom to this happy condition and issue.

H. ELSYNG, cler. parl. D. com.

Thus those that honour God, God will honour, and those that seek only, and are content with that honour that is of God, shall (sometimes) perchance have the honour that is of men cast into the bargain.

On Saturday, November the 14th, both houses actuated their orders and intentions; and first, the right honourable Edward, earl of Manchester, speaker of the house of Lords, *pro tempore*, accompanied with the earl of Northumberland, Pembroke, and divers other peers of the kingdom, went together in their coaches to his excellency's house in Queen-street, to congratulate his excellency's successes and happy return, according to

the order of their house, which the earl of Manchester enlarged with divers expressions of gratitude and honour to his excellency; in the name of the house of peers, giving his excellency thanks for all his care and pains, in the defence of the public, expressing their great esteem of his memorable services and faithful performance of the trust reposed in him, which their lordships should always have in remembrance, and be ready upon all occasions to express their gratitude unto him.

And when they had done, and were gone, (with never a jot less honour, I trow, for that which they had left upon his excellency,) the house of commons also attended their speaker on the same errand; where William Lenthal, esquire, speaker of that house, delivered himself to this effect :

SIR,

I have a very hard task to perform : to present the respects of the house of commons according to your excellency's merit, and their desires to effect this accordingly, I should have informed myself from histories that have preserved the memories of the famous worthies of former ages, and should have taken the dimensions of the largest coronets and trophies wherewith they are made glorious; and even those would rather straiten than enlarge the temples of your excellency; or else I should have consulted some of the most learned and eloquent orators, who have set forth the glorious gests performed in former times, whereby I might have insisted on some parallel for your wisdom, piety, justice, and valour; but I conceive the virtues and success which God hath bestowed upon you were very hardly to be matched, and rather needed more industry and memory to enumerate, than oratory to polish.

Heretofore, when I read the histories of the acts of famous princes and warriors, in this or other nations, it was not without some jealousy, that in them there was some mixture and glosses of oratory and art, the more to set off, and give lustre

to the acts, as arguments of emulation, for others to follow the footsteps of their virtues; but the actions of your excellency will add lustre and belief to them, being all verified in you: and (indeed) here, considering the swift marches and the expeditions in these grand and difficult attempts, which were prosecuted and effected by your excellency, I may say, the Almighty came riding on the wings of the wind; for these were nothing else but the *magnalia Dei*, acted in and by you his instrument.

It was the custom of the ancient Romans, after a glorious and successful prince, to derive his name to posterity in memory of his virtues, as after that great prince, Julius Cæsar, his successors retained the name of Cæsars, as *Augustus Cæsar*, *Tiberius Cæsar*, &c.; thus, hereafter, all famous and victorious succeeding generals in this kingdom (if the time shall prove so unfortunate) will desire the addition of the name of Fairfax.

And surely the honour of the late lord general was not, whilst he lived, any way eclipsed by the succession of your excellency in his command, but rather augmented, whilst each retained the brightness of his own honour, having both rays enough to enlighten a kingdom, then overset with clouds and thick darkness.

I shall need to say no more but this, that the world will admire your excellency's worth, posterity will honour your name; and that the whole house of commons, in the name of the commons of England, doth return you thanks for your faithful and memorable services; the beginning, continuance, and effect whereof, I must solely attribute to the Almighty (the Lord of hosts and victories).

But never had Julius Cæsar that honour in those civil wars when he came to Rome as a conqueror; one poor Metellus confronts him, and gives check to his victory-swelled spirit, breaking up the doors of Saturn's temple: indeed there is a manifest cause of difference; Cæsar did not plead the senate's cause, did not fight for the Roman liberties. The senate fled when

Cæsar drew near; but his excellency's war was the parliament's peace; by his motion they sat still.

Happy man, may I say of him, that is able to engage kingdoms and parliaments in such respects and duties, and happy kingdom and parliament also, for whose extreme and low condition God reserves such a chosen vessel.

To all which his excellency made a very modest return, expressing how much he esteemed himself honoured by the great respects of the houses towards him, and that he accounted it his greatest happiness under God to be in the least kind instrumental for theirs and the kingdom's good.

So great was the benefit and obligation of his excellency's services, that the lord mayor and aldermen, in their own and city's interest, feeling the same, particularly could not discharge themselves in their consciences to acknowledge to their general in their representative the commons of England, but on the Tuesday following came with a train of coaches to his excellency's house, in the name and on the behalf of the city, to render thanks unto him by whose watchfulness this famous city, so much longed for by the enemy, was preserved from being sacked and plundered, as well as the kingdom recovered. Master Glyn the recorder was their mouth to this effect:

SIR,

I am to declare unto you, in the behalf of the lord mayor and the whole city, that they in the first place bless Almighty God for the great victories and successes wherewith it hath pleased God to crown your faithful endeavours; and next, they give your excellency hearty thanks for your great and incomparable services, whereby you have settled the city and whole kingdom in so peaceable a condition as it is at this day.

To which his excellency gave a very modest reply in

way of thankfulness for that visit, and the respects of the city towards him : and in close, the recorder further gave his excellency to understand, that the city intended very shortly to make a further acknowledgment of their thankfulness, and to give a greater testimony of the high esteem they had of his excellency.

And thus I have brought his excellency to town, and here I could be glad to leave him, *Pacem te poscimus omnes*, but I must carry him forth again, but it is not to war nor battle, it is to discharge armies and soldiers, that England may, if it be the will of God, be a quiet habitation again, and the noise of war not heard in it. His excellency had not long stayed at London but he was ordered to provide a convoy to go with the 200,000*l.* for the Scottish army, upon their marching out of England. His excellency living more to the public service and commodity than his own ease or accommodation, on Thursday, December the 18th, went from London towards Northampton, having before ordered most of his forces to advance to those parts, and appointed three regiments of horse, viz. colonel sir Robert Pye's, colonel Grave's, and colonel Rossiter's, and three regiments of foot, viz. major-general Skippon's, colonel Lilburn's, and colonel sir Hardress Waller's, to march under the command of major-general Skippon, as a convoy to the said money to Newcastle upon Tyne, a tedious winter march, being near 200 miles from the place where some of them received the money; yet the better to be undergone, when it ends not in fighting, as many tedious marches of this army have done.

And thus you have an account of six regiments, how they are disposed; the rest of the army I leave in their quarters, to practise St. John Baptist's lesson, *Do violence to no man, and be content with your wages.*

And would to God I might here set *finis* to our

English troubles, as well as to this history: times and issues are in the hand of God; we cannot know what is to come; let us look over and recount with thankfulness what God hath done for us, who for his works' sake among us is glorious in the eyes of all nations, yea, in the consciences of our enemies, who cannot but confess, *Our Rock is not as their rock*; if he be not glorious in our eyes—it is the least can be said—his mercies have been ill bestowed upon us.

It may be expected here I should conclude with a panegyric of the army, and a parænetic to the kingdom to love and honour them; but methinks there should be no need of that, the whole story proclaims their worth and merit; their name is engraven by God himself, as with the point of a diamond, on the gates and walls of many of our chief places; yea, they have sown a name to themselves in the earth, and watered it with their blood in many places of this kingdom: and if all those great works God hath done for the kingdom by them have not yet prevailed for a precious and honourable esteem of them, in vain should I attempt to be their advocate: only I shall take the boldness to say, (knowing within what compass I speak,) that they who think such men not fit to serve a state, they must (undoubtedly) question whether it were for the service of the state that which they have done; for they who shall acknowledge the reducing the kingdom to its peace, and to the parliament's obedience, by vanquishing their enemies and strengths, to be good service, must needs acknowledge those that did it to be good servants, and worthy of all honour and acceptance therein: and they that would persuade otherwise, it is not because they know how to have the state better served, but because they think it is served too well, and are not so much enemies to these particular men,

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as to the commonwealth ; and were all of their mind, (which God forbid,) should we be served with such as would take our money and do little for it, that would spin out and protract the war, as these have contracted it, that would serve us in stews and taverns, and drink away the kingdom's cares and sorrows, yea the kingdom's blood, in bowls of wine, and fight with God (instead of his enemies) by oaths and blasphemies, and all horrible wickednesses, we were well served.

If such as these be good soldiers and servants to a state, I confess this is not the guise of this army : but if valour and faithfulness, prudence and activity, be the qualifications of good soldiers, these will obtain a name among the first ; or if tedious marches and vehement battles, and fierce storming of impregnable strengths, be any demonstration of these things, we want them not.

But it is time to retreat : let us be thankful to God, and we shall not be unworthy to his instruments. I shall only add a character of the army, that those who have approved themselves so well in their actions may be better known to us in their spirits and principles, and then I shall leave them to the acceptance of God and the censure of the world.

A CHARACTER OF THE ARMY.

First, of the general sir THOMAS FAIRFAX.

I SHALL here pass over his extraction, education, and contract, as having been touched upon before, and now to begin with him as general, which he began to be in as little a copy and proportion as hath been known, setting out with an army scarce large enough for his title ; so as he began as all true natural growths and increasings, from seeds and small beginnings, and so grew up more naturally than artificially into completeness, rather by providence than violence, rather by course than wonder ; as if God rather than men should make him and his army grow.

His way of steerage and conduct at first was amongst men in reputation for religion, as if the best place he could find for counsel and action was there where God was ; and he prospered accordingly, as if Providence would let him see there is the best policy where there is the best piety.

He wanted one thing, and yet had the more by such a want ; and that was a privado, or favourite of passion, as if Providence had intended him for men, and therefore would keep him from man : men were rather his friends than his favourites, and his judgment was rather enamoured of men than his affections ; religion and the public being the best lines for great men to live and love by.

He never discovered passions abroad in counsels or

actions, what he had at home in himself, he (not others) knew; and this was of advantage, both to what was advised and what was done; for the business of war is best managed by peace at home, and those counsels that are least troubled themselves, bring over most trouble to the enemy, and the steersman that sits at helm had not need to have the palsy in his hand.

In counsels for action, he was ever ready to let those reasons that had most appearance of God prevail; as if he had observed faith to be of more success in these battles than reason.

His carriage in this war hath been constant action, diligence, and vigilance, being never less in title than when any thing was to do, as if to be general raised him only to do more, not to be more than others.

He was not without love, clemency, and meekness, by which he kept his army less stained in the blood of his enemy, but not less victorious; for by this he only drew less blood, but more men to him.

In the midst of our troubles in religion, he was thus far in peace, that he could bear the different opinions in their unity to the public, seeing the work go on as well as if all had been of one mind, and weighed men (as we hope) by love to God and to the public; and by this he kept clear from dashing against God and good men, in pretence of opinion: and thus the work hath been done with as much appearance of God as hath been seen in many ages.

He was still for action in field or fortification, esteeming nothing unfeasible for God, and for man to do in God's strength, if they would up and be doing; and thus his success hath run through a line cross to that of old soldiery, of long sieges and slow approaches; and he hath done all so soon, because he was ever doing.

For his love to religion, that is a business as well of the heart as of the hand, of power as of form, and we hope he is that to God that he is to others; if we may judge men's piety by their practice, he is not wanting in religious duties, in reading, in exercises; but God, and not men, must commend him in this.

For his personage, he is tall, yet not above just proportion, yet taller (as some say) when he is in the field than at home, as if victory were in his spirit beforehand, and raised him higher than his ordinary stature.

His body is not without its infirmities, as of rheums and distillations, which sometimes cause an impediment in his speech: thus Providence pitches him in a tent something crazy, in a body weakened by war and watchfulness, that he may live humbly, and know himself to be but man in the hands of God, and be a man as well of infirmity as of glory.

Thus I have writ him over, I hope, in truth to those that know him, but rather for those that know him not but by pen or picture, yet with this clause, that what is good in him we may not know to be his own, but his that gave him it; even his who is the Author and Finisher of all our good.

The officers of this army, as you may read, are such as knew little more of war than our own unhappy wars had taught them, except some few; so as men could not contribute much to this work: indeed I may say this, they were better Christians than soldiers, and wiser in faith than in fighting, and could believe a victory sooner than contrive it; and yet I think they were as wise in the way of soldiery as the little time and experience they had could make them.

These officers, many of them with their soldiery,

were much in prayer and reading scripture, an exercise that soldiers till of late have used but little, and thus then went on and prospered: men conquer better as they are saints than soldiers; and in the countries where they came they left something of God as well as of Cæsar behind them, something of piety as well as pay.

They were much in justice upon offenders, that they might be still in some degree of reformation in their military state. Armies are too great bodies to be found in all parts at once.

The army was (what by example and justice) kept in good order, both respectively to itself and the country: nor was it their pay that pacified them; for had they not had more civility than money, things had not been so fairly managed.

They were many of them differing in opinion, yet not in action nor business; they all agreed to preserve the kingdom; they prospered more in their unity than uniformity; and whatever their opinions were, yet they plundered none with them, they betrayed none with them, nor disobeyed the state with them, and they were more visibly pious and peaceable in their opinions than many we call more orthodox.

They were generally constant and conscientious in duties, and by such soberness and strictness conquered much upon the vanity and looseness of the enemy; many of those fought by principle as well as pay, and that made the work go better on, where it was not made so much matter of merchandise as of conscience: they were little mutinous or disputing commands; by which peace the war was better ended.

There was much amity and unity amongst the officers while they were in action and in the field, and no visible emulations and passions to break their ranks,

which made the public fare better. That boat can go but slowly where the oars row several ways; the best expedition is by things that go one way.

The army was fair in their marches to friends, and merciful in battle and success to enemies, by which they got some love from enemies, though more from friends.

This army went on better by two more wheels of treasurers and a committee: the treasurers were men of public spirits to the state and army, and were usually ready to present some pay upon every success, which was like wine after work, and cheered up the common spirits to more activity.

The committee which the house of commons formed were men wise, provident, active, and faithful in providing ammunition, arms, recruits of men, clothes; and that family must needs thrive that hath good stewards.

Thus you have a copy of our army; we will not say they have no faults, but those they have, we wish rather reformed than read by the world.

A list of the names of the officers in chief, of foot and horse, the train of artillery, and other officers, under the command of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax; as, colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors, and captains, &c.

General officers.

His excellency sir Thomas Fairfax, general.

Major-general Skippon, major-general to the whole army.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell, lieutenant-general of horse.

Lieutenant-general Hammond, lieutenant-general of the ordnance.

Commissary-general Ireton, commissary-general of the horse.

The treasurers at war, viz.

Sir John Wollaston.

Captain Blackwell, deputy-treasurer at wars.

Commissary-general Stane, commissary-general of the musters.

Major Watson, scoutmaster-general to the army.
 Quartermaster-general Spencer, quartermaster-general of foot, (now quartermaster-general Gravesnor).
 Quartermaster-general Fincher, quartermaster-general of horse.
 Captain Flemming, } Adjutants-general of horse.
 Captain Evelyn, }
 Lieutenant-colonel Gray, adjutant-general of the foot.
 Captain Deane, comptroller of the ordnance.
 John Rushworth, esquire, secretary to the general, and com. of war.
 Master Boles, chaplain to the army.
 Colonel Pindar, }
 Harcourt Lighton, } Commissioners
 Thomas Herbert, } of parliament
 Captain Potter, slain at } residing in the
 Naseby, (now captain } army.
 Vincent Potter,) esq. }
 John Mills, esquire, judge advocate.
 Commissary Orpin, commissary-general of victuals, (now commissary Cowling).
 Captain Cook, commissary-general of horse provisions, slain at Naseby, (now commissary Jones).
 Master Richardson, wagon-master general.
 Doctor Payne, } Physicians to the
 Dr. Stranhil, (since Dr. French.) } army.
 Master Web, apothecary to the army.
 Master Winter, surgeon-general to the army.
 Captain Wykes, marshal-general of foot.
 Captain Richard Lawrence, marshal-general of horse.
 Mr. Fran. Child, markmaster-general of the horse.
 Master Robert Wolsey, assistant to the quartermaster-general of foot, (wounded at Naseby).
 Mr James Standish, } Deputies to the commissary-
 Mr. Richard Gerard, } general of musters.
 Mr. Thomas Wragge, } Clerks to the secretary.
 Mr. William Clarke, }
 Mr. Richard Chadwell, } Messengers to the army.
 Mr. Constantine Heath, }

For the foot.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, colonel: his own company commanded by captain Fortescue, since captain Aidley: lieutenant-colonel Jackson: major Cook, died before Bristol: captain Gooday, now major: captain Boyce: captain Musket: captain Maneste (dead): captain Wolfe: captain Highfield: captain White: captain Bland, since captain Leigh.

Major-general Skippon: lieutenant-colonel Frances, slain at Naseby: major Ashfield, now lieutenant-colonel: captain Samuel Clark, now major: captain Streater: captain Harrison: captain John Clark: captain Bowen: captain Gibbon: captain Cobbet: captain Symonds.

Sir Hardress Waller, colonel: lieutenant-colonel Cottesworth, slain before Oxford, now lieutenant-colonel Salmon: major Smith: captain Howard: captain Waade: captain Hill, slain before Bristol, now captain Aske: captain Gorges: captain Clark: captain Thomas: captain Hodden.

Colonel Hammond: lieutenant-colonel Ewre: major Sanders: captain Disney: captain Chara: captain Smith: captain John Boyce: captain John Puckle: captain Stratton: captain Rolfe.

Colonel Harley: lieutenant-colonel Pride: major Cowell: captain Goff: captain Gregson, wounded at Berkeley: captain Sampson, wounded at Bridgewater: captain Hinder, wounded at Bristol: captain Forgison: captain Mason: captain Lago.

Colonel Mountague, since colonel Lambert's: lieutenant-colonel Grimes: major Kelsey, since major Rogers: captain Blethen: captain Nunney: captain Biscoe: captain Rogers: captain Wilks, slain at Basing, now captain Cadwell: captain Thomas Disney: captain Sanders.

Colonel Lloyd, slain at Taunton, since colonel Herbert: lieutenant-colonel Gray: major Read, (now lieutenant-colonel,) wounded at Taunton, now major Waade: captain Wilks, slain at Taunton: captain Gettins, died in Gloucestershire, now captain Lundy, wounded at Berkeley: captain Wigfal, slain at Berkeley-castle: captain Melvin, wounded at Bristol: captain Spooner: captain Short.

Colonel Pickering, (died at Antre,) now colonel Hewson's: lieutenant-colonel Hewson, (now colonel): major Jubbs, (now

lieutenant-colonel): captain Axtel, (now major): captain Husbands, (now captain Grimes): captain Jenkins, slain at Farringdon, after captain Tomkins, slain at Naseby, now captain Toppington: captain Carter: captain Silverwood: captain Gayle, slain at Bristol: captain Price.

Colonel Fortescue: lieutenant-colonel Richbell, slain at Taunton: lieutenant-colonel Dursey, slain at Bristol, lieutenant-colonel Ingoldesby, slain at Pendennis, now lieutenant-colonel Cobbet: major Jennings: captain Gettins, now captain Farley: captain Fownes, slain at Tiverton: captain Young: captain Gollidge, slain at Taunton: captain Whifton: captain Bushell.

Colonel Ingoldesby: lieutenant-colonel Farringdon, (now lieutenant-colonel Kelsey): major Cromwell, slain at Bristol, since major Duckett: captain Henry Ingoldesby: captain Gibson, now captain Stephens: captain Allen: captain Ward, slain at Bristol, since captain Williams, since captain Thomas Ingoldesby: captain Mills: captain Bamfield, now captain Wagshaft: captain Grimes.

For the train.

Lieutenant-general Hammond, lieutenant-general of the ordnance: captain Deane, comptroller of the ordnance: master Hugh Peter, chaplain to the train: Peter Manteau van Dalem, engineer-general: captain Hooper, engineer extraordinary: Eval Tercene, chief engineer: master Lyon, Mr. Tomlinson, engineers: master Francis Furin, master-gunner of the field: master Matthew Martin, paymaster to the train.

Colonel Rainsborough: lieutenant-colonel Bowen: major Done, slain at Sherborne, major Crosse, slain there, major Edwards: captain Crosse, slain at Sherborne: captain Edwards: captain Drury: captain Dancer: captain Creamer, wounded at Sherborne: captain Sterne, slain at Bristol.

Colonel Welden, now colonel Lilburne: lieutenant-colonel Kempson: major Masters: captain Peckham: captain Fenton: captain Franklin, slain at Exeter, now captain Holmes: captain Dorman: captain Tolhurst: captain Munday, dead in the west, now captain Welden: captain Kaine: master Phips, commissary of ammunition: Mr. Thomas Robinson, commissary of the draught-horse.

Firelocks.

Captain-lieutenant Desborough: captain-lieutenant Brent.

Captain of pioneers.

Captain Cheese.

For the horse.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, general: his troop commanded by captain Gladman: major Desborough: captain Lawrence: captain Browne: captain Packet: captain Berry.

Colonel Butler: major Horton: captain Foley: captain Gardner: captain Pennyfether: captain Perry, dead, now captain Bethel.

Colonel Thomas Sheffield: major Fincher: captain Robotham: captain Rainsborough: captain Martin: captain Evelyn.

Colonel Fleetwood: major Harrison: captain Coleman: captain Selby, slain at Naseby, now captain Laughton: captain Zanchy: captain Howard.

Colonel Rossiter: major Twisleton: captain Anthony Markham: captain Jo. Nelthrop: captain Peart: captain Henry Markham.

Lieutenant-general Cromwell: major Huntington: captain Jenkins: captain Middleton: captain John Reynolds: captain Bush, slain at Naseby, since captain Blackwell.

Colonel Rich: major Alford: captain Nevil: captain Ireton: captain Dendy, now captain Husbands: captain Bough, now captain Hawys.

Colonel sir Robert Pye: major Tomlinson: captain Margery: captain Knight: captain Barry: captain Rawlins.

Colonel Whaley: major Bethel, slain before Bristol: captain Swallow, now major: captain Groves: captain Cannon: captain Evanson.

Colonel Graves: major Scroop: captain Flemming, (adjutant general): captain lord Calfield: captain Bragge: captain Barton.

Colonel Ireton, commissary-general: major Sedascue: captain Guilliams, slain at Bristol, since captain Pretty: captain Gibbons: captain Hoskins, slain at Naseby, since captain Cecil: captain Bury, now captain Morgan.

His excellency's lifeguard.

Captain Doyley, now captain Hall.

Dragoons.

Colonel Okey: major Moore: captain Farmer: captain Mercer: captain Abbots: captain Farre: captain Bridge: captain Woggan: captain Skirmager: captain Turpin, since captain Neale.

A journal of every day's march of the army under the command of his excellency sir Thomas Fairfax; with the names of the towns and villages where the headquarters have been; the distance of miles; and how many nights the quarters continued in each town or village.

1645.

Berkshire.

April 30. From Windsor to Reading, 12 miles. 1 night.

May 1. To Theale, 4 miles. 1 night.

May 2. To Newbury, 11 miles. 2 nights.

Wiltshire.

May 4. To Andover, 12 miles. 1 night.

May 5. To Salisbury, 15 miles. 1 night.

Dorsetshire.

May 6. To Sixpenny Hauley, 10 miles. 1 night.

May 7. To Blandford, 7 miles. 1 night.

May 8. To Wichampton, 7 miles. 1 night.

The same day a party marched westward to relieve Taunton.

Hampshire.

May 9. To Ringwood, 10 miles. 1 night.

May 10. To Rumsey, 14 miles. 2 nights.

May 12. To Alresford, 14 miles. 1 night.

May 13. To Whitechurch, 10 miles. 1 night.

Berkshire.

May 14. To Newbury, 10 miles. 3 nights.

May 17. To Blewberry, 10 miles. 2 nights.

Oxon.

May 19. To Nuneham, 9 miles. 1 night.

May 20. To Garsington, 2 miles. 2 nights.

May 22. To Marston and the siege of Oxford, 4 miles. 14 nights.

Buckinghamshire.

June 5. To Marsh-Gibbon, 9 miles. 1 night.

June 6. To Great Brickhill, 12 miles. 1 night.

1645.

June 7. To Sherrington, 8 miles. 2 nights.

June 9. To Stony Stratford, 4 miles. 2 nights.

Northamptonshire.

June 11. To Wotton, 8 miles. 1 night.

June 12. To Killingbury, 4 miles. 1 night.

June 13. To Guilesbury, 6 miles. 1 night.

June 14. To the battle at Naseby, and from thence to Harborough, 6 miles. 1 night

Leicestershire.

June 15. To Kibworth, to great Glin, 7 miles. 1 night.

June 16. To Knighton, and Leicester siege, 6 miles. 2 nights.

June 18. To Leicester $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. 2 nights.

June 20. To Lutterworth, 10 miles. 1 night.

Warwickshire.

June 21. To Lillington, $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. 1 night.

June 22. To Warwick, 2 miles. 1 night.

Gloucestershire.

June 23. To Clifford, 7 miles. 1 night.

June 24. To Campden, 6 miles. 1 night.

June 25. To Norledge, 14 miles. 1 night.

June 26. To Lechlade, 8 miles. 1 night.

Wiltshire.

June 27. To Wambro, 7 miles. 1 night.

June 28. To Marlingbury, 7 miles. 2 nights.

June 30. To Ambersbury, 14 miles. 1 night.

July 1. To Burchalk, 11 miles. 1 night.

Dorsetshire.

July 2. To Blandford, 12 miles. 1 night.

July 3. To Dorchester, 12 miles. 1 night.

July 4. To Beamister, 12 miles. 1 night.

Somersetshire.

July 5. To Crookhorne, 4 miles. 2 nights.

July 7. To Evill, 8 miles. 1 night.

July 8. To Ivelchester, 3 miles. 1 night.

July 9. To Long-Sutton, 4 miles. 1 night.

July 10. To the battle at Langport, and to Midlesey, 9 miles. 1 night.

1645.

July 11. To Weston and Bridgewater siege, 2 miles. 15 nights.
 July 21. Bridgewater stormed, part taken.
 July 22. Bridgewater yielded.
 July 26. To Marcock, 13 miles. 2 nights.
 July 28. To Wells, 15 miles. 4 nights.
 July 30. Bath surrendered.

August 1. To Queen-Camel, 12 miles. 1 night.

Dorsetshire.

August 2. To Sherborne, 4 miles. 17 nights.
 August 15. Sherborne-castle taken.

Somersetshire.

August 18. To Castle Carey, 8 miles. 1 night.
 August 19. To Shepton-Mallet, 6 miles. 1 night.
 August 20. To Bishop's-Chew, 12 miles. 2 nights.
 August 22. To Canesham, 5 miles. 3 nights.

Gloucestershire.

August 25. To Stapleton, 4 miles. 17 nights.
 September 10. Bristol stormed, some of the works and line taken.
 September 11. To Bristol surrendered, 2 miles. 5 nights.

Somersetshire.

September 15. Farley-castle surrendered.
 September 16. To Bath, 10 miles. 1 night.

Wiltshire.

September 17. To Trubridge, 7 miles. 1 night.
 September 18. To Devizes, 7 miles. 8 nights.
 September 23. Laicoock-house surrendered.
 Vize-castle surrendered.

Gloucestershire.

September 26. Berkeley, the castle taken.
 September 26. To East-Lavington, 4 miles. 1 night.
 A party marched towards Winchester and Basing-house.
 September 27. To Warmister, 8 miles. 3 nights.

Dorsetshire.

September 30. To Shaftesbury, 12 miles. 2 nights.
 October 2. To Middleton, 15 miles. 1 night.

1645.

October 3 To Dorchester, 8 miles. 1 night.
 October 4 To Beamister, 12 miles. 2 nights.

Somersetshire.

October 6, To Chard, 8 miles 8 nights.

Devonshire.

October 14. To Hunniton, 12 miles. 1 night.
 October 15. To Collumpton, 7 miles. 2 nights.
 October 17. To Tiverton 4½ miles. 3 nights.
 October 19. The castle of Tiverton taken.
 October 20. To Silverton, 5 miles. 2 nights.
 October 22. To Newton-Syer, 5 miles. 1 night.
 October 23. To Crediton, 3 miles. 3 nights.
 October 26. To Silverton, 8 miles. 1 night.
 October 27. To Topsham, 8 miles. 5 nights.
 November 1. To Poultimore and Broad Clisse, 5 miles. 1 night.
 November 2. To Wimple, 3 miles. 2 nights.
 November 4. To Mary Antre, 3 miles. 32 nights.
 December 6. To Tiverton, 12 miles, 33 nights.

1646.

January 8. To Morton, 20 miles. 1 night.
 January 9. To Bovey-Tracy, took 3 or 400 horse, 6 miles. 1 night.
 January 10. To Ashburton, 6 miles. 1 night.
 January 11. To Totness, 5 miles. 8 nights.
 January 19. To Dartmouth stormed and taken, 7 miles. 2 nights.
 January 21. To Totness, 7 miles. 3 nights.
 January 24. To Newton-Bushel, 7 miles. 1 night.
 January 25. To Chidlay, 5 miles. 16 nights.
 That day Poulderham-castle taken.
 February 10. To Crediton, 12 miles. 4 nights.
 February 14. To Chimleigh, 9 miles. 2 nights.
 February 16. To Stephenston, master Rolls's house, that night faced Torrington, and entered, 8 miles. 8 nights.
 February 24. To Houlsworth, 10 miles. 1 night.

1646.

Cornwall.

February 25. To Launceston, 10 miles. 4 nights.

March 1. To Blisland, 16 miles. 1 night.

March 2. To Bodmin, 4 miles. 5 nights.

March 7. To a rendezvous at Lanevet, and back to Bodmin,
6 miles. 2 nights.

March 9. To Tregny, 15 miles. 1 night.

March 10. To Truro, 6 miles. 11 nights.

Goring's army of horse surrendered and disbanded.

March 21. To Bodmin, 20 miles. 5 nights.

March 26. To Launceston (the general to Plymouth) 20 miles.
2 nights.*Devonshire.*

March 28. To Okehampton, 15 miles. 1 night.

March 29. To Crediton 14 miles. 2 nights.

March 31. To view the siege at Excester, and to Columb-
John, 13 miles. 13 nights.

~ April 13. To Excester surrendered, 4 miles. 5 nights.

Somersetshire.

~ April 18. To Chard, 24 miles. 1 night.

Dorsetshire.

April 19. To Dorchester, 22 miles. 1 night.

Wiltshire.

April 20. To Salisbury, 32 miles. 4 nights.

April 25. To Andover, 15 miles. 2 nights,

Berkshire.

April 27. To Newbury, 13 miles. 3 nights.

April 30. To East Hendred, 12 miles. 1 night.

Oxon.

May 1. To Garsington, 9 miles. 1 night.

May 2. To Heddendon, 3 miles. 53 nights.

June 24. To Oxford surrendered, 1 mile.

A Table of the Campaign and Action of the Army under the command of his excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, from April 15, 1645, to August 19, 1646. Wherein is expressed what battles were fought; what forces of strength were taken; whether by storm or surrender; the number of slain; of prisoners; what ordnance, arms, and colours were taken; the name of the commander-in-chief, the day of the month when, and county where the action was done.

Date.	Place relieved, taken, and particulars.	The manner, How.	Days of siege, and time of fight.	Number slain.	Prisoners taken.	Ordnance taken.	Arms taken.	Colours taken.	Chief Commanders of ours.	Commanders of the enemy's.	County.	Horse.
1645. April 15	Rout at Ilip	By a party of horse.	2 hours	60	200		400	The queen's, and 3 others	Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell	Earl of Northampton	Oxfordshire	500
— 16	Bletchington House	By a party of horse and dragoons.	4 hours		150		450	3	Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell	Col. Windebanke	Oxfordshire	72
— 26	Near Farringdon	By a party of horse.	2 hours	10	40		50	3	Col. Io. Fienes	Col. Sir W. Vaughan	Berkshire	150
— 27	Hampton-bush	By a party of horse.	2 hours		230		200		Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell		Oxfordshire	60
May 11	Taunton relieved the first time	By a party of horse.	54 days	200 slain in the siege	200		260	1	Col. Walden	Gen. Goring	Somersetshire	30
— 22	Oxford foot and horse routed	By a party of horse.	3 days	2	10		30		Adjutant Flemming	Capt. Gardner	Oxfordshire	12
June 1	Godstow House	Quitted.	2 hours	2	82		100		Gen. Fairfax		Oxfordshire	6
— 14	Gaunt House	Yielded.	2 hours	800	4500	12, and 2 mortars	8000	112	Gen. Fairfax	King Charles, Prince Rupert, and Prince Maurice	Northamp.	200
— 18	Leicester Town	Yielded.	3 days	6	70	14	2600	8	Gen. Fairfax	Lord Haselings	Leicestershire	300
— 27	Highworth Garrison	Yielded, the second time.	6 weeks	1000 of the enemy's	400		180	2	Gen. Fairfax	Major Hen	Wiltshire	12
July 3	Taunton	Quitted.	1 day	60	200		400		Gen. Fairfax	Lord Goring	Somersetshire	400
— 8	Ilchester Garrison	By a party of horse.	2 hours	50	200		300	9	Gen. Fairfax	Col. Phillips	Somersetshire	300
— 10	Ilmore Fight	Fought and quitted.	1 day	60	1600	2	2500	32	Major-Gen. Massey	Lord Goring	Somersetshire	1200
— 13	Lampport Battle.	Yielded.	4 days	8	151		200	9	Col. Okey	Col. Windham	Somersetshire	200
— 23	Burrough-hill Fort	Stormed.	11 days	30	1600	44	3000		Gen. Fairfax	Sir Thomas Bridges	Somersetshire	11
— 30	Brighthelm	Yielded.	1 day	60	140	0	400	12	Col. Rich	Master Bravel of Compton	Dorsetshire	30
Aug. 4	Bristol City	Routed.	1 hour	200 of ours	340	19	600	2	Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell	Sir Levin Dives	Dorsetshire	30
— 15	Sherburne Castle	Battered and stormed.	16 days	5	300	6	100	1	Gen. Fairfax	Capt. Turberville	Somersetshire	20
— 20	Nunbury Castle	Yielded.	6 days	160 of ours	300	151	6000	8	Col. Rainsborough	Prince Rupert	Somerset, and Gloucesters.	
— 28	Portsmouth Fort	Yielded.	2 days						Gen. Fairfax			
Sept. 10	Bristol City	Stormed.	18 days									

Devonshire.

Octob. 25	Hersey Castle	Stormed.	9 days	40	90	11	500		Col. Rainsborough	Sir Oke	Hantsire	80
— 14	Winchester Castle	Yielded.	64 days	4	300	7	500		Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell	More of Westminster	Hantsire	
— 18	Basing House	Stormed.	1 day	40	200	4	400	2	Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell	Sir Baitham	Wiltshire	20
— 26	Langford House	Yielded.	6 days	4	80		100	2	Gen. Fairfax	Sir Gilbert Talbot	Devonshire	80
Jan. 8	Near Barnstable, quaters beaten up	By a party of horse.							A Captain of the Plymouth Regiment	Sir Allen Apley	Devonshire	
— 9	Bovy-Fracy, quarters beaten up	By a party of horse	3 hours	12	60		100	one with C. R.	Sir Hardress Waller	Lord Wentworth	Devonshire	40
— 16	Plymouth siege raised	By the action of the enemy.							Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell		Devonshire	350
— 19	Dartmouth	Yielded.	7 hours	20	800	106	1600	14	Gen. Fairfax	Major-General Sir John Digby	Devonshire	
— 25	Powdermill Castle	Yielded.	1 day	60	400	2	300	9	Gen. Fairfax	Sir Hugh Pollard	Devonshire	60
Febr. 16	Torrington	Stormed.				80 barrels of powder fired	1600		Col. Hammond	Sir Hugh Merdith	Devonshire	
— 24	Engagement of horse near Stratton	By a party.	2 hours	12	40		250	4	Col. Butler	Lord Hopton, Lord Wentworth, Lord Capell	Devonshire	70
— 25	Launceston	Quitted after dispute.		3	160		200		Gen. Fairfax	Major-Gen. Web	Devonshire	300
— 28	Salisah Garrison	Quitted.				3 left in the works			Gen. Fairfax		Cornwall	30
— 29	Lizard Town	Quitted.				3			Gen. Fairfax		Cornwall	
March 3	Mount Edgcomb	Yielded.				5			Gen. Fairfax	Col. Edgecombe	Cornwall	
— 3	Foy Town	Quitted.		60	10		140		Gen. Fairfax		Cornwall	
— 13	Castle-Dennis, engagement of horse	By a party.		100			300		Col. Rich	Major-Gen. Pert	Cornwall	300
— 14	S. Mawes Castle	Yielded.							Gen. Fairfax		Cornwall	
— 16	Treaty of Truro	Horse disbanded.							Gen. Fairfax		Cornwall	
— 16	Exmouth Fort	Yielded.	46 days						Gen. Fairfax	Lord Hopion, Lord Wentworth	Cornwall	
— 16	Dennis Fort	Yielded.	48 days	17					Col. Sir Har. Waller	Col. Arundel	Devonshire	4500 disbanded
1646. April	Corfe Castle	By stratagem and storm.				5	200	2	Col. Bingham	Major Laurence	Cornwall	
— 13	Exeter City	Yielded.	180 days	100	40	75	1500		Gen. Fairfax	Sir John Beckley	Devonshire	
— 15	S. Michael's Mount	Yielded.	15 days	20		15	400		Col. Hammond	Sir Arthur Bassett	Cornwall	
— 20	Barnstable Town, Castle and Fort	Yielded.	50 days	20		35	400		Gen. Fairfax	Sir Allen Apley	Devonshire	
May	Dunster Castle	Yielded.	150 days	40		6	200		Col. Baggie	Col. Windham	Somersetshire	
— 1	Woodstock Garrison	Yielded.	20 days	40		8			Col. Walden	Capt. Fawcett	Oxfordshire	
— 1	Radcot Fort	Yielded.	50 days	8		9	600	8	Col. Walsley	Col. Fortescue	Devonshire	
— 1	Radcot Fort	Yielded.	50 days	6		2	140		Col. Sanderson	Sir William Compton	Oxfordshire	
June 10	Borsall House	Yielded.	15 days	60		5	300		Gen. Fairfax	Col. Palmer	Berkshire	
— 24	Oxford City	Yielded.	55 days			200	2000		Gen. Fairfax	Sir William Compton	Bucks.	
— 24	Farringdon House	Yielded.	55 days	40		4	500		Sir Robert Pye	Colonel, and air	Oxfordshire	
July 22	Worcester City	Yielded.	65 days	25		7	1500		Col. Rainsborough	Sir William Courtney	Oxfordshire	
— 27	Wallingford Castle	Yielded.		7		7	800		Gen. Fairfax	Col. Washington	Worcestersh.	
Aug. 17	Pendennis Castle	Yielded.		80		80	800		Col. Fortescue	Col. Thomas Blagoe	Buckingham	
— 17				80		80	800		Col. Fortescue	Col. Arundel	Buckingham	
— 17				80		80	800		Col. Fortescue	Sir John Digby	Cornwall	
— 17				80		80	800		Col. Fortescue	Sir John Digby	Monmouth	



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